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Chapter 4

One Heaven, One History, One People **Repositioning the Zhou in Royal Addresses to Subdued Enemies in the** **“Duo shi” 多士 and “Duo fang” 多方 Chapters of the *Shangshu*** **and in the “Shang shi” 商誓 Chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu***

Joachim Gentz

The *Shangshu* 尚書 chapters “Many Officers” (“Duo shi” 多士) and “Many Regions” (“Duo fang” 多方) purport to be royal addresses to the subdued high-ranking people of the previous dynasty. “Duo shi” addresses the remaining officers of the Yin 殷 who have been resettled at the new city of Luo 洛 (announced in the chapter “Luo gao” 洛誥). The speech is purportedly made by the Duke of Zhou 周公 at the new capital of Luo on behalf of King Cheng 成 upon the king’s return from an unspecified military expedition to Yan 奄. The speech “Duo fang” is also given by the Duke of Zhou on behalf of King Cheng. It is given at the old capital Hao 鎬 and addresses the former Yin officers living in Luo and the high-ranking officeholders of the numerous regions under the former rule of the prince of Yin. The present study analyzes the cultural and historical contexts of these chapters, their intertextuality with other texts, and their argumentative and rhetorical structure to explore when and for what purpose these chapters were written, what their historical function was, and why two such chapters have been transmitted in the *Shangshu*.

“Duo shi” and “Duo fang” in Comparative Perspective

At first sight the occurrence of these chapters in the *Shangshu* is not surprising. Military conquests and postbattle speeches are common phenomena throughout human history. Under closer scrutiny, however, speeches like “Duo shi” and “Duo fang” represent a cultural outlier in antiquity. Nowhere in the writings of other early kingdoms was I able to find a single text in which the victorious new king reasons with his subdued subjects, explains and justifies his

conquest to his former enemies, and asks them for their cooperation.¹ Colleagues working on Middle Eastern royal inscriptions whom I asked for parallel cases just shook their heads, astounded and slightly amused. This is not because of a lack of source material. Six hundred to six hundred and fifty royally commissioned texts are known today that were composed only in the short Neo-Assyrian period of seventy-five years, between 744 and 669 BCE, when Assyria became the dominant power in southwestern Asia. Not a single one resembles the intent of these two *Shangshu* chapters.

If we examine utterances of kings in the Middle East, which are mainly preserved in thousands of royal inscriptions from Mesopotamia, Egypt, and Persia, as well as in texts from the Old Testament, we find completely different literary representations of how kings dealt with their enemies. Assyrian commemorative inscriptions, like Hittite and Egyptian ones, placed great emphasis upon military campaigns, especially in the genres of annals and letters to gods.² These texts are quite stereotypical and monotonously report on victories and destructions. Often combined with records of military campaigns are hunting reports. As reports of killing and destruction in faraway places, they are clearly constructed as contrasts to the building work that follows thereupon and takes place in their own homeland in, for example, Assyria.³ In most of these military reports enemies are spared only when they submit. Otherwise, we find reports of the destruction and plundering of cities and massacres of enormous numbers of people. The surviving populace is then in many cases deported and resettled in newly built cities.⁴ Such texts were often publicly displayed in monumental stone inscriptions, and the subdued people were confronted with their contents as a *fait accompli*.

The corpus of royal inscriptions from Neo-Assyria includes similar reports of destroyed and plundered cities, of captured soldiers whose hands were cut off, and of deportations of whole

¹ The only similar text I have come across so far is an Egyptian postbattle speech to subdued enemies on the “Dream Stela of Tanutamani on his enthronement and Egyptian campaign from the Amun Temple at Gebel Barkal,” dated ca. 664 BCE (translated in Eide et al. 1994: 193–207). The ninth and last section of this text (pp. 202–207) records the peace treaty concluded between Tanutamani and the subdued chiefs (lines 39–42). Compared with the two *Shangshu* speeches, however, the Egyptian king is depicted in an entirely different position vis-à-vis his subdued enemies. He does not offer them anything and asks for nothing from them but acts in the role of the god Rê. He explains his victory as the fulfillment of a divine plan in the spirit of traditional kingship dogma and is depicted as exceptionally generous in allowing his enemies to live. The enemies are “placed on their bellies, kissing the ground before him,” and beg to serve him “like those who are without anything.” I am indebted to Marwan Kilani, who pointed this text out to me in Oxford in March 2014.

² Van Seters 1997: 60–61, 64–65.

³ Galter 1997: 58.

⁴ Schramm 1973: 14, 38.

populations. Some quotations from the Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, king of Assyria (704–681 BCE), illustrate this:

[... With] the power and might of (the god) Aššur, my lord, [*I fought*] with [*them* (and) *defeated them*. ...] I killed their [*warriors*] (and) I filled the mountain gorges with them (their corpses).⁵

In my ninth *palû*, (the god) Aššur, my lord, encouraged me and I marched against the lands Bīt-Kap[si, Bīt-Sangi], Bīt-Urzakki, Media (lit. “land of the Medes”), Bīt-Zualzaš, Bīt-Matti, (and) Tupliaš. I captured, plundered, destro[yed], devastated, (and) burned with fire the cities Bīt-Ištar, Kin[kangi, Kindigiasu], Kingialkasiš, Kubušḫatidiš, Upušu, Aḫsipuna, Girgirâ, (and) Kim-[baz-ḫa-ti, together with] citie[s] in their environs.⁶

The inscriptions are all phrased in highly formulaic language and follow a limited number of standard compositional patterns:

I conquered (and) defeated the lands [Uparia, Bustus], Ariarma—*the land of roosters*—Saksuk[ni, Araquuttu, Karzibra, Gukinnana, (and) Bīt-Sagbat, Mount Silḫazu, which] they call [the fort]ress of the Babylonian(s), [... (and) I carried off] their booty. I carried off [... , their horses, their mules, their Bactrian camels, their oxen], (and) their sheep and goats, without number. [I destroyed, devastated, (and) burned with fire their] cit[ies; I reduced (them) to mounds and ruins].⁷

For forty-five days I set up my camp [aro]und his city and confined him (there) like a bird in a cage. I cut down his plantations, [...] ... , (and) orchards, which were without number; I did not leave a single one (standing).⁸

⁵ Grayson and Novotny 2012: 9.

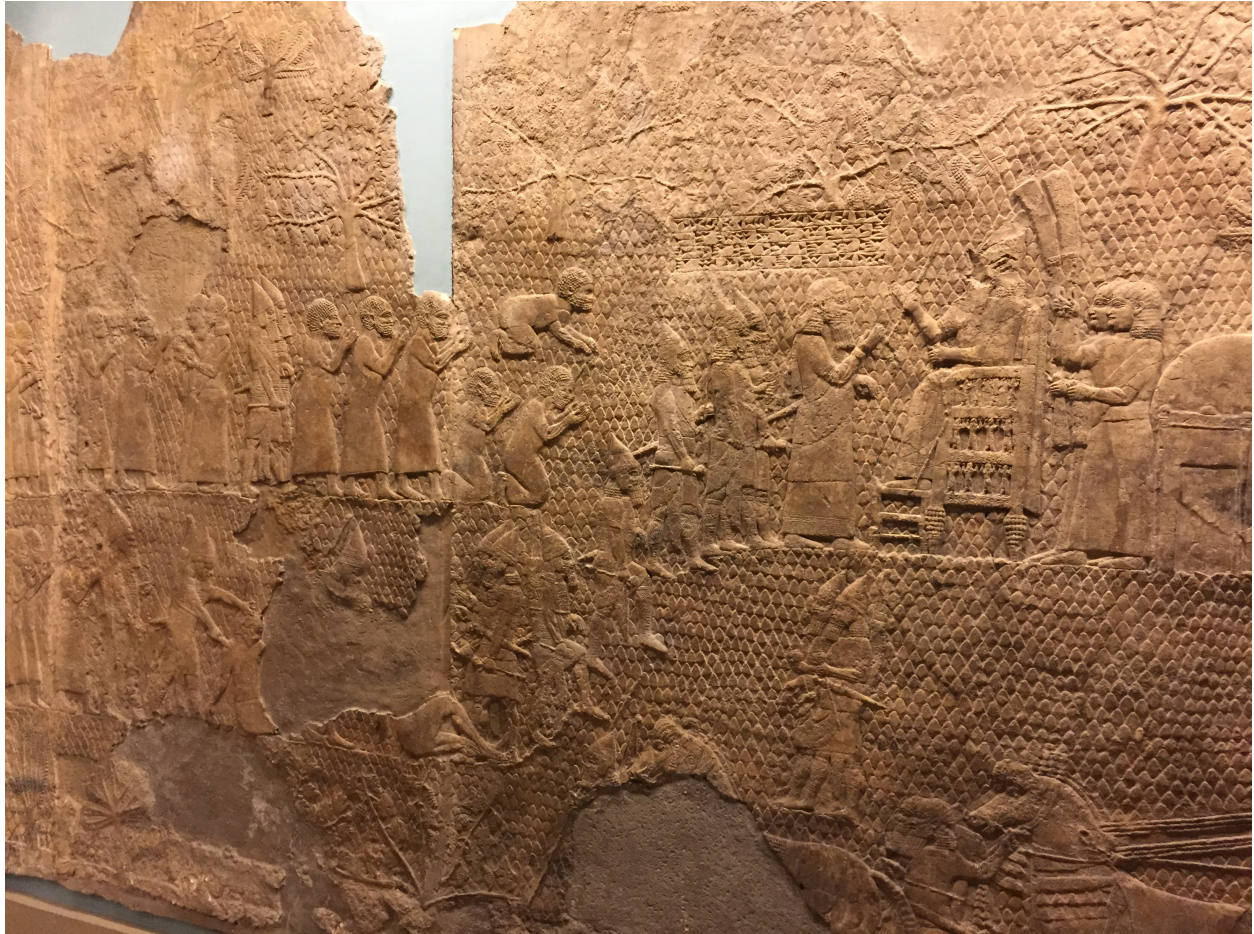
⁶ Grayson and Novotny 2012: 15.

⁷ Grayson and Novotny 2012: 17.

⁸ Grayson and Novotny 2012: 20.

These compositional patterns are also reflected in reliefs from the South-West Palace in Niniveh which illustrate these scenes.

Sennacherib watches the capture of Lachish:



“Assyrian, about 700-692 BC, from Niniveh, South-West Palace, Room XXXVI, panels 11-13. Sennacherib, on a magnificent throne, watches as prisoners are brought before him and sometimes executed. There is a tent behind him, his chariot is in the foreground, and his bodyguard are stationed around. The king’s face has been deliberately slashed, perhaps by an enemy soldier at the fall of Niniveh in 612 BC.”⁹

⁹ Photo taken by the author in the British Museum 18th Feb 2017. Title and descriptive text quoted from the information board at the British Museum. WA 124910-2.

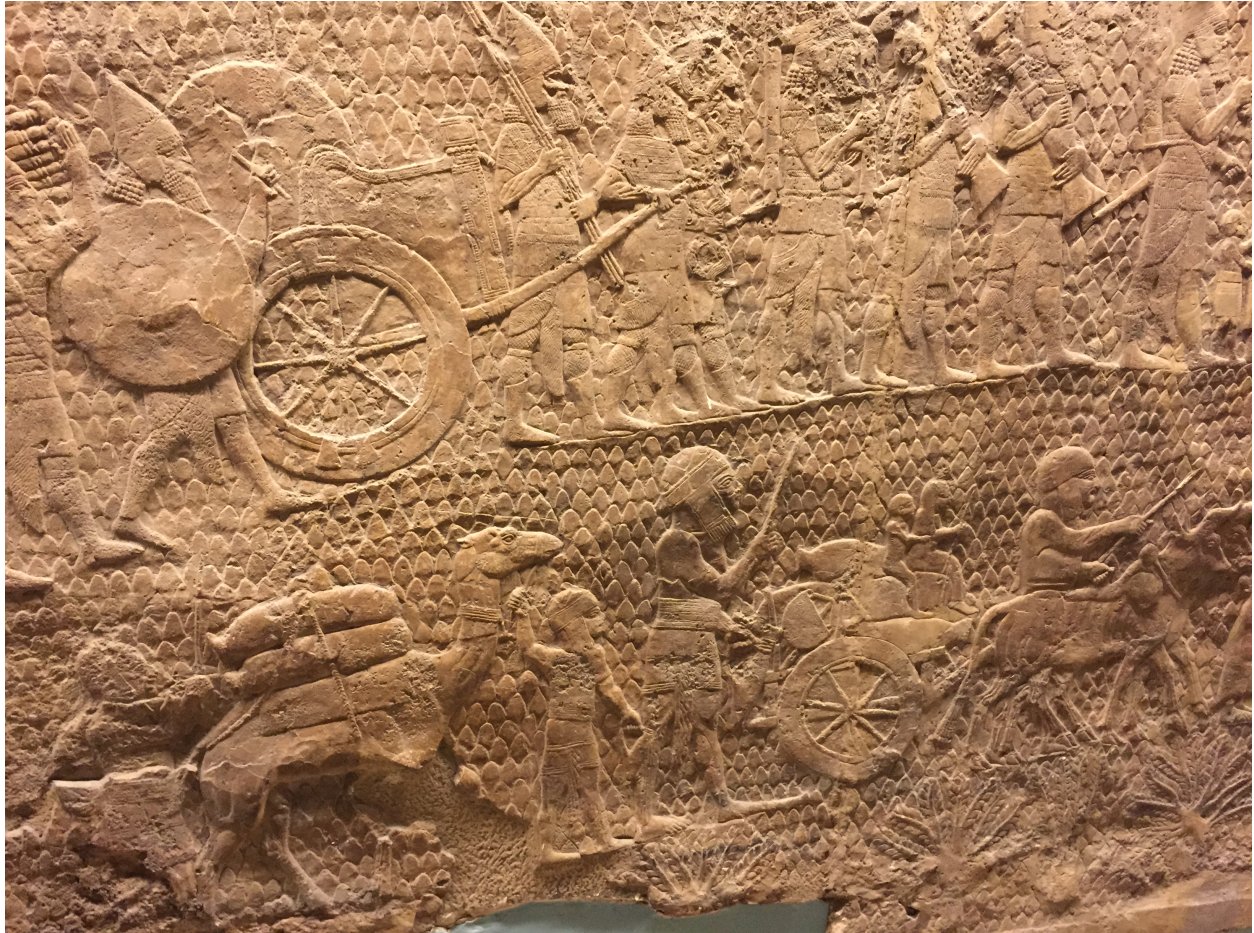
Prisoners from Lachish:



“Assyrian, about 700-692 BC, from Niniveh, South-West Palace, Room XXXVI, panels 9-10. The procession of prisoners from Lachish continues, moving through a rocky landscape with vines, fig-trees, and perhaps olives in the background. Officials regarded as responsible for the rebellion against Assyria are treated more severely; two of them are being flayed alive.”¹⁰

¹⁰ Photo taken by the author in the British Museum 18th Feb 2017. Title and descriptive text quoted from the information board at the British Museum. WA 124908-9.

Booty from Lachish:



“Assyrian, about 700-692 BC, from Niniveh, South-West Palace, Room XXXVI, panels 8-9. After the capture of Lachish, Assyrian soldiers carry off booty from the governor’s palace: a bundle of scimitars, round shields, a chariot, a throne, and a pair of tall incense burners. Below, Judaeen prisoners move in families, taking their goods and animals with them to exile.”¹¹

¹¹ Photo taken by the author in the British Museum 18th Feb 2017. Title and descriptive text quoted from the information board at the British Museum. WA 124907-8.



Like the Zhou, Sennacherib encountered numerous rebellions (in the territories of Babylon), but there is not a single text in which he addresses his former enemies or even expostulates with them. He also conducted wars with Egypt and Judah and reports these battles in glorifying inscriptions. He laid siege to Jerusalem, and Assyrian accounts treat this as a great victory, maintaining that the siege was so successful that Hezekiah, the king of Judah, was forced to give a monetary tribute, and that the Assyrians left victoriously, without losses of thousands of men and without sacking Jerusalem.

According to biblical accounts, however, the siege was a great disaster for the Assyrians. Sennacherib had to withdraw because the “angel of Yahweh went out and struck down 185,000 in the camp of the Assyrians.”¹² With respect to the way enemies are dealt with, however, the biblical accounts do not differ from other Middle Eastern sources. When King David captured

¹² 2 Kings 19:35, translation from the American Standard Version.

Jerusalem, he ordered his soldiers: “Whoever would strike the Jebusites, let him get up the water shaft to attack ‘the lame and the blind,’ who are hated by David’s soul.”¹³

A final example from Persia may illustrate the attitude toward subdued people. King Darius, in his famous Behistun Inscription, composed sometime between 522 and 486 BCE, gives a quite schematic report of his many military campaigns (in the first year alone he fought nineteen battles). According to the formulaic pattern of his historiographical records, he always killed the chiefs and chief followers and did to the others “according to his will”:

(54) King Darius says: “As to these provinces which revolted, lies made them revolt, so that they deceived the people. Then Ahuramazda delivered them into my hand; and I did unto them according to my will. [...]

(63) Whosoever helped my house, him I favored; he who was hostile, him I destroyed.”¹⁴

All these royal statements from the ancient Middle East reflect an attitude that does not allow any negotiations with conquered people. Yet, they do not necessarily reflect different degrees of ferocity or cruelty of different cultures. Royal inscriptions, especially those from Assurnasirpal II (883–859 BCE) but also Assurbanipal (669–631 BCE), are far more brutal in their reports of what the kings did to their enemies than the relatively harmless formulaic descriptions that I have quoted from Sennacherib.¹⁵ Yet these kings do not appear any more brutal than the kings of any other state as portrayed in contemporary sources.¹⁶ The depictions we have of Assurnasirpal’s *Review of Prisoners* look even more harmless than those of Sennacherib.

¹³ 2 Sam. 5:8, translation from the American Standard Version.

¹⁴ Lendering 2013.

¹⁵ Grayson 1991: 199–201, quoted in Fuchs 2009: 67.

¹⁶ Fuchs 2009: 65.



“*Review of Prisoners*: Assyrian, about 865-860 BC, from Nimrud, North-West Palace, Room B, panel 17&18 (bottom). Assyrian officials bring enemy prisoners to the king. Captured goods are shown in mid-air: they include metal cauldrons, which are often mentioned in Assyrian lists of booty, and a pair of ivory tusks. Ashurnasipal has dismounted from his chariot to review a procession of courtiers and prisoners of war.”¹⁷

The numerous Egyptian depictions of an oversized pharaoh slaying his enemies may point to another interpretation of such pictorial and literary representations of cruelty.¹⁸

*Thutmose III smiting Canaanite enemies:*¹⁹



¹⁷ Photo taken by the author in the British Museum 18th Feb 2017. Descriptive text quoted from the information boards at the British Museum. WA 124537 and WA 12453739.

¹⁸ Schoske 1982; Swan-Hall 1986; Gundlach 1988.

¹⁹ Seventh pylon at Karnak describing the Battle of Megiddo, 15th Century BC. Photo taken from http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Image:Thutmose_III_at_Karnak.jpg (26.9.2017).

Renate Müller-Wollermann discusses these depictions and similar Egyptian texts as symbolic representations of the pharaoh's political, social, and cosmological role. She interprets the oversized depictions of the violent pharaoh as symbolic concealment of true power relationships. According to her, symbolic violence is applied in situations when rulers are reluctant or, more probably, unable to apply real violence.²⁰

How, then, should we interpret the “Duo shi” and “Duo fang” chapters of the *Shangshu*, in which the Duke of Zhou, representing the young King Cheng, addresses the officers of the Shang and reasons with them about why they should support and cooperate with the Zhou? The chapters clearly reflect an effort to not only threaten these officers but also convince them by force of argument. Do these chapters present an exceedingly powerful ruler who is in a position to argue?

To analyze these chapters more accurately in a comparative mode we must first turn to other early Chinese texts. In Western Zhou bronze inscriptions we find descriptions of military campaigns that are similar to those in the ancient Middle Eastern sources. Dozens of inscriptions report on military campaigns. One of the most detailed inscriptions is the Xiao Yu-*ding* 小盂鼎, probably cast during the reign of King Kang 康王 (1005–978 BCE):

Yu with many flags with suspended Guifang ... entered the Southern Gate, and reported saying, “The King ordered Yu to take ... and attack the Gui tribe ... I have captured three leaders, over 4800 scalps, 13,081 prisoners ... tens of horses, thirty chariots, 355 oxen, and thirty-eight sheep.” Yu further ... said, “... called on me to campaign, and I captured one leader, 237 scalps ... prisoners, 104 horses, and over one hundred chariots.” The King said, [“Excellent!”] Yu bowed prostrate and brought forth the captured leaders into the Great Court. The King ordered Rong to interrogate the leaders, inquiring about their reasons. ... “The Elder of Ke ... the Guihun tribe. The Guihun thereupon took a new ... and followed the Shang.” The leaders were then beheaded at ... The King called upon ... to charge Yu thus, “Take the captured scalps through the temple gate to present at the Western Shrine. Take the ... in to make burnt offerings at the Temple of Zhou.”²¹

²⁰ Müller-Wollermann 2009: 48.

²¹ 孟以多旂佩，鬼方子□□入三門。告曰：王令孟以□□伐鬼方。□□□馘□，執酋三人，獲馘四千八百

This report from the early Western Zhou period follows the typical scheme of reports that we still find on bronzes from the late Western Zhou: the king orders A to campaign against B (sometimes with the order to spare neither young nor old). Then the numbers of killed and captured soldiers are reported, as in the Jinhou Su bells 晉侯蘇鐘 inscription from 794 BCE, where in a campaign that lasted no longer than twenty days, 480 severed heads and 114 prisoners were reported:²²

The king personally commanded Jinhou Su: “Lead your armies leftward crossing X and to the north crossing [] to attack the Su Yi.” Jinhou Su cut off 120 heads and captured 23 prisoners. The king arrived at Xun Citadel. The king in person distantly inspected the armies. The king arrived at Jinhou’s camp. The king descended from his chariot and, standing facing south, personally commanded Jinhou Su: “From the northwest corner, ram and attack Xun Citadel.” Jinhou Su led his Secondary Legion, Young Nobility, and Spearmen to advance down to enter, cutting off 100 heads and capturing 11 prisoners. The king arrived at Naolie. The Yi of Naolie went out fleeing. The king commanded Jinhou Su: “Lead the Grand Chamber’s Minor Vassals and Charioteers to follow, and catch and drive them out.” Jinhou cut off 110 heads and captured 20 prisoners; the Grand Chamber’s Minor Vassals and Charioteers cut off 150 heads and captured 60 prisoners.²³

Or, as in the Xiao Yu-*ding* above and most other bronzes, A returns and reports on the numbers of ears or scalps taken from the dead (or the number of severed heads hoisted upon

又二馘，俘人萬三千八十一人，俘馬□□匹，俘車卅輛，俘牛三百五十五牛，羊卅八羊。孟又告曰：□□□□，乎蔑我征，執曾一人，獲馘二百卅七馘，俘人□□人，俘馬百四匹，俘車百□輛。王若曰：□。孟拜稽首，以曾進，即大廷。王令榮訊曾，榮即曾訊厥故。□{走克}伯□□鬼獯，鬼獯虐以新□從。成，折曾於□。王呼□伯令孟以人馘入門，獻西旅，□□入燎周廟。Trans. Eno 2010: no. 37, *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 02839; Shaughnessy 1999: 320.

²² Cf. Shaughnessy and Nivinson 2000: 34–35.

²³ 王親令晉侯蘇：率乃師左汙舟（周）鑊，北汙舟（周）□，伐夙夷。晉侯蘇折首百又廿，執訊廿又三夫。王至於城，王親遠省師。王至晉侯蘇師，王降自車，立，南鄉，親令晉侯蘇：自西北遇（隅）敦伐城。晉侯率厥亞旅、小子、呈戈（秩）人先，陷入，折百首，執訊十又一夫。王至淖列，淖列夷出奔，王令晉侯蘇：帥大室小臣、車仆從，述（遂）逐之。晉侯折首百又一十，執訊廿夫；大室小臣、車仆折首百又五十，執訊六十夫。Trans. Shim 1997: 49–53.

spears, as in the Yu-gui 敌簋,²⁴ which mentions a number of 100, while another inscription²⁵ counts 500), the number of captives, and the booty. These reports are very similar to what we find in the Middle Eastern inscriptions. In the Egyptian texts hands are cut off instead of scalps, ears, or heads. But they employ the same scheme of tallying the numbers of the dead, the captives, and the booty as proof of the military leader's merit. These numbers are recorded for commemoration and to report them to the numinous beings, spirits, gods, and ancestors.

The findings from the bronze inscriptions also coincide with passages from early Chinese noninscriptional texts that record many cases of “sanctioned violence.” Mark Edward Lewis has provided very helpful interpretations and summaries of these passages. He points out the association between military training and hunting and demonstrates how (as in the ancient Middle Eastern texts) war, sacrifice, and the hunt are interrelated in many early texts and symbolically interchangeable.²⁶ Warfare and religious sacrifices were both regarded as service to the ancestors. Warfare was, according to Lewis, even regarded as a form of religious sacrificial ritual.²⁷ Lewis quotes an example from the *Zuo zhuan* 左傳 where a commander proposes to collect the corpses of the Jin enemy into a large tomb mound as a monument to bring glory to the ancestral cult. Although the king of Chu rejects this practice in this particular instance, he acknowledges it in general.²⁸ One text not mentioned by Lewis, even though it perfectly constructs this specific interrelationship of war, sacrifice, religious service, and hunt is the “Great Capture” (“Shifu” 世俘) in the *Remnant Zhou Documents* (*Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書).²⁹ It reports the violent Zhou conquest of the Shang in a similar enumerative and detailed style as the bronze inscriptions. Following Gu Jiegang and others,³⁰ Edward Shaughnessy has extensively discussed the chapter and believes that “Shifu” offers “the fullest account of the Zhou conquest.”³¹ The following excerpt provides some insight into its character:

²⁴ Eno 2010: no. 103, *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 04323.

²⁵ Guoji Zibo-pan 虢季子伯盤 (Eno 2010: no. 116, *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 10173). See also the Duo You-ding 多有鼎 (Eno 2010: no. 118, *Yin Zhou jinwen jicheng* 02835).

²⁶ Lewis 1990: 18–20.

²⁷ Lewis 1990: 22, 26.

²⁸ Lewis 1990: 25–26.

²⁹ Huang Huaixin 1995: 477–494.

³⁰ Gu Jiegang 1963; Chen Mengjia 1985: 290.

³¹ Shaughnessy 1997: 31. See also Shaughnessy 1991: 228.

King Wu hunted and netted 22 tigers, 2 panthers, 5,235 stags, 12 rhinoceri, 721 yaks, 151 bears, 118 yellow-bears, 353 boars, 18 badgers, 16 king-stags, 50 musk-deer, 30 tailed-deer, and 3,508 deer. King Wu had pursued and campaigned in the four directions. In all, there were 99 recalcitrant countries, 177,779 ears taken registered, and 310,230 captured men. In all, there were 652 countries that willingly submitted. ... King Wu descended from [his] chariot and caused Scribe Yi to intone the document in the declaration to heaven. King Wu then shot the hundred evil ministers of (Shang king) Zhou. He beheaded and offered their *sixty minor* princes and great captains of the caldrons, and beheaded their forty family heads and captains of the caldrons. The supervisor of the infantry and the supervisor of horse first [attended] to their declaration of the suburban sacrifice; then the southern gate was flanked with the captives to be sacrificed, all of whom were given sashes and clothes to wear. The ears taken were first brought in. King Wu attended to the sacrifice and the Great Master shouldered the white banner from which the head of Shang king Zhou was suspended and the red pennant with the heads of his two consorts. Then, with the first scalps, he entered and performed the burnt-offering sacrifice in the Zhou temple. ... Five days later on *yi-mao* (day 52), King Wu then sacrificed in the Zhou temple the ears taken of the many countries, declaring, “Reverently, I, the young son, slaughter six oxen and slaughter two sheep. The many states are now at an end.” [He] reported in the Zhou temple, saying, “Of old I have heard that [my] glorious ancestors emulated the standards of the men of the Shang; with the dismembered body of [Shang king] Zhou, I report to heaven and to Ji [i.e., Hou Ji].” ... He sacrificed 504 oxen to heaven and to Ji, and sacrificed 2,701 sheep and boar, the minor offering, to the hundred spirits, the water and the earth.³²

³² 武王狩，禽虎二十有二，貓二，麋五千二百三十五，犀十有二，麀七百二十有一，熊百五十有一，羆百一十有八，豕三百五十有二，貉十有八，麋十有六，麝五十，麋三十，鹿三千五百有八。武王遂征四方，凡憇國九十有九國，馘磨億有十萬七千七百七十有九，俘人三億萬有二百三十，凡服國六百五十有二。... 武王降自車，乃俾史佚繇書于天號。武王乃廢于紂矢惡臣百人，伐右厥甲小子鼎大師，伐厥四十夫家君鼎師，司徒、司馬初厥于郊號。乃夾于南門用俘，皆施佩衣衣先馘入。武王在祀，大師負商王紂縣首白旂，妻二首赤旂，乃以先馘入，燎于周廟。... 越五日，乙卯，武王乃以庶國祀馘于周廟，翼予沖子，斷牛六，斷羊二，庶國乃竟。告于周廟，曰：古朕聞文考脩商人典以斬紂身，告于天、于稷 ... 用牛于天、于稷五百有四，用小牲羊、豕于百神水土社二千七百有一。Huang Huaixin 1995: 458–470. Trans. Shaughnessy 1997: 35–37.

I take the comparative evidence from the ancient Middle East inscriptions as indicating a wider pattern of propaganda on dealing with enemies in early empires and understand the bronze inscriptions as texts that feature this same pattern. While I accept Shaughnessy's conclusion that "Shifu" probably is of Western Zhou origin, I disagree that it provides a reliable and accurate account of the "real" historical event. I assume, rather, that we have to treat this text, like the *Shangshu* texts—and indeed the bronze and Middle Eastern inscriptions—as propagandistic constructions of an ideal reality. I assume that these texts were produced to support conventional claims in a ritual setting dominated by sacrificial categories of reciprocity and exchange. Like the exact numbers of the sacrificial offerings or the gift lists that we find as typical elements in other kinds of bronze inscriptions, the numbers of killed and captured enemies and booty are reported as part of a communication that served to regulate exchanges of material goods, merits, and blessings with numinous beings. The subdued enemies are perceived in terms of numbers of either captured prisoners or body parts (scalps, severed heads, ears, hands—all as tokens for dead bodies). Legitimation of the conquest is sought by listing huge numbers of killed soldiers and captured humans, animals, and plundered goods. This ideology of slaughtering and sacrificing that we find in all these early postbattle records throughout the Middle East and in China therefore differs from what we find in the *Shangshu* accounts, which reflect a different set of purposes. It is difficult to reconcile the brutish style of these conquest reports with the humane and respectful addresses of the "Duo" chapters in the *Shangshu*. It is equally difficult to reconcile these detailed conquest reports and the bureaucratic style of their quantifications with the brief report and references to conquests that have been transmitted in the *Shangshu*. The *Shangshu* refers to the conquest in a new abstract religiopolitical language of overthrowing the Shang as part of the Zhou ruler's duty imposed (or even inflicted) by Heaven. In these references the logic of a reciprocal exchange between men's meritorious service to numinous beings and the latter's blessing is still present; the rhetoric of sacrifice, however, is abolished.

Referring to *Mengzi* 7B.3, where Mengzi calls into question a *Shangshu* passage from the "Accomplishment of Martiality" ("Wu cheng" 武成) chapter because it reports on the violence of the Zhou conquest, Shaughnessy argues that Mencius's view of history seems to have prevailed along with the Confucian school. Therefore, such texts and passages were ignored (the *Shiji* 史記 makes no use of the "Shifu" chapter in its account of the Zhou conquest) or even

expunged from the sources.³³ Another *Yi Zhoushu* chapter that narrates how King Wu dealt with the captured Shang officials, likewise believed by some to date from the Western Zhou,³⁴ is the “Harangue to Shang” (“Shang shi” 商誓).³⁵ In contrast to the “hundred evil ministers” (*bai e chen* 百惡臣) and other dignitaries who, following the sacrificial mode, are shot and beheaded in “Shifu,” the “hundred officials” (*baiguan* 百官) and other officials who are addressed in “Shang shi” are treated with great care, following a mode of dealing with subordinates that is also prevalent throughout the *Shangshu*. “Shang shi” is thus of greatest relevance when discussing the “Duo shi” and “Duo fang” chapters. Although classified as a *shi* 誓 (harangue), it differs from the harangues in the *Shangshu* in structure and diction³⁶ but seems close to the two “Duo” chapters there.³⁷ To summarize: among the transmitted early Chinese texts we find three text types that propagate different models of dealing with the officers of a subdued dynasty:

- Type 1: Conquest reports in bronze inscriptions and the “Shifu” chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* that list detailed numbers of captured and executed enemies. These resemble conquest reports in Middle Eastern inscriptions.

- Type 2: A brief conquest report in the “Wu cheng” chapter of the *Shangshu* in which enemies turn against and kill each other or flee immediately once King Wu puts on his battle garments. We do not know whether the subsequent resuming of the old course of government (*zheng you jiu* 政由舊) or the giving of offices and employment to the worthy and able reported in the text includes the subdued officers.

- Type 3: Addresses to subdued officers in the “Shang shi” chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* and the “Duo shi” and “Duo fang” chapters of the *Shangshu* in which the willingness of these officers to cooperate with the new rulers poses the central problem of the text.

³³ Shaughnessy and others hypothesize that the “Shifu” chapter is the original “Wu cheng” chapter of the *Shangshu* that for exactly these reasons was excluded from the *Shangshu* discourses.

³⁴ Huang Huaixin 1995: 2.

³⁵ See my translation of this chapter in the appendix.

³⁶ See Martin Kern’s discussion of the “harangues” in this volume (chapter 8). The “Shang shi” chapter first uses the verb “to announce” (*gao* 告) when referring to its own mode of presentation, but it also refers to its own speech as “words” (*yan* 言), as “announcing a charge” (*gao ming* 誥命), and as “bright charge” (*ming ming* 明命)—but never as a “harangue” (*shi* 誓).

³⁷ In the self-reflective meta-announcements, both “Duo” chapters refer to themselves as “announcing” (*gao* 告) something. Chen Mengjia (1985: 309–310) classifies the “Duo” chapters as announcements and charges, not as harangues.

I take these types, on the one hand, as expressions of different ideologies and, on the other, as fulfilling various functions in different contexts. The type 1 texts appear to be rather bureaucratic accounts of quantifiable battle events, composed according to formulas in which numbers could be inserted. The catalog form and detailed numbers of these accounts suggest that they were based on empirical records of the events, records that (as these accounts claim) were (or should ideally have been) used in ritual communications with gods, spirits, and ancestors, reflecting the logic of exchange within these sacrificial contexts.³⁸ They seem to reflect forms of postbattle memorial texts, composed soon after the event, as common in many ancient cultures. In these texts, the higher the number of killed and captured enemies and the larger the amount (and variety) of booty, the greater and more glorious was the victory. Type 2 texts also report on the conquest but reflect a different assumption about how an ideal and glorious victory should be envisioned. Here, victory is purportedly achieved by means of moral power that needs no military intervention. The enemies, convinced by the virtuous model of the new ruler, offer no opposition and even turn against those who do not submit immediately. The ideal ruler does not fight and does not report the number of executions and captures. As in the type 1 conquest narratives, the subdued enemies serve as indicators or even empirical proofs of the ruler's splendor and merit. While in type 1 the number of captured and killed enemies reflects the military power of the king, it is the moral power of the king that is signified by the enemies as living subjects in type 2. The type 3 texts follow the logic of the second assumption. Enemies won over by moral example can no longer be treated as adversaries but have to be regarded as part of one's own people. As a result, the subdued former enemies in type 3 harangues represent, not the adversarial other, but a particular part of the "self" in need of reformation. In addressing this particular group, the "Shang shi" and "Duo" chapters therefore follow a rhetorical and compositional pattern also used in other *Shangshu* harangues when particular groups that are not in line with the king's commands are admonished.

³⁸ For a discussion of the sacrificial logic of exchange, see Mauss 1923–1924; and, with an analytical focus on the aspect of violence therein, Girard 1972, chaps. 1 and 2. For the early Chinese context, see Schaberg 2005; Cook 1997.

Content, Compositional, and Argumentative Structure of the “Duo” and “Shang shi” Chapters and Their Rhetorical and Literary Forms³⁹

A. Content Structure

The “Shang shi” chapter can be divided into six main parts (*italics indicates which parts of the chapter are shared with other chapters*):

1. *Address to the audience*
2. Metareflection on the speech: Zhou only executes Heaven’s order
3. *Historical precedent*: wisdom of the Shang kings following Hou Ji
4. *The infamous tyrant Zhou of Shang turned against Heaven’s order*
5. *Heaven thereupon transferred its Mandate to Zhou*
6. *Order to cooperate combined with a threat to exterminate those who do not obey*

The “Duo shi” chapter basically follows the same pattern:

1. Introduction providing the context of the speech
2. *Address to the audience*
3. The ruin of Shang is the punishment of Heaven executed by Zhou
4. *Historical precedent*: the Xia were likewise overthrown by Shang
5. *The infamous tyrant Zhou of Shang turned against Heaven’s order*
6. *Heaven thereupon transferred its Mandate to the Zhou*
7. *Order to cooperate combined with a threat to exterminate those who do not obey*

The “Duo fang” chapter follows the same pattern as well:

1. Introduction providing the context of the speech
2. *Address to the audience*
3. Indictments of recent transgressions of the subdued Shang (statement)
4. *Historical precedent*: the Xia were likewise overthrown by Shang

³⁹ There are a number of differences in the modern- and ancient-script recensions of the “Duo” chapters as well as in their representations in the Han and Tang Stone Classics and several early Japanese editions; see Zang Kehe 1999. However, these differences by and large do not affect the interpretation of the principal argument in the texts.

5. *The infamous tyrant Zhou of Shang turned against Heaven's order*
6. *Heaven thereupon transferred its Mandate to the Zhou*
7. Indictments of recent transgressions of the subdued Shang (in the form of questions)
8. *Order to cooperate combined with a threat to exterminate those who do not obey*

All three chapters share five parts of the speech and follow a similar compositional line. First, the audience is admonished (in “Duo shi” and “Duo fang” this follows an introductory part providing the social or historical and local context of the speech). A historical precedent is then adduced to demonstrate that the Zhou, who have a singular relationship to the Shang, have legitimately replaced the Shang. This is followed by the core argument that the last Shang ruler turned against Heaven, and that the Heavenly Mandate thereupon was transferred to the virtuous Zhou, who by their conquest only followed the order from the Lords on High (Shangdi)⁴⁰ and executed Heaven's punishment. The chapters end with a command to cooperate with the new regime combined with a promise to reward those who obey and a warning to inflict the punishments of Heaven on those who do not.

This compositional line is almost identical with the fixed sequence of elements that Martin Kern describes in his analysis of the harangues (*shi* 誓) of the *Shangshu*.⁴¹ Many of these elements of the harangues share an identical formulaic terminology and rhetoric (such as the use of the pivotal term *jin* 今) with the “Duo” chapters, and it appears that what had been announced in a standard prebattle harangue had to be asserted in the same form also in a postbattle harangue (and vice versa) by the authors of these chapters, making the “Duo” chapters mirror the “harangues” almost symmetrically.

The differences between the “Shang shi” (SS), “Duo shi” (DS), and “Duo fang” (DF) chapters can most easily be detected by looking at those elements that do not overlap. The core elements shared by all three chapters are

⁴⁰ Pace Sarah Allan's (2007) arguments identifying Shangdi with the polestar, I follow Shima (1958: 188–216) and Robert Eno (1990b), who hypothesize that Shangdi was a collective term for a group of ancestors rather than a single spirit.

⁴¹ Chapter 8 in the present volume.

- Address to the audience
- Historical precedent
- The infamous tyrant Zhou of Shang turned against Heaven's order
- Heaven thereupon transferred its Mandate to the Zhou
- Order to cooperate combined with a threat to exterminate those who do not obey

Elements shared by only two chapters are

- Introduction providing the context of the speech (DS, DF)
- Historical precedent: the Xia were likewise overthrown by the Shang (DS, DF)

The introduction is part of the standard form of most *Shangshu* chapters.⁴² That it is missing in the “Shang shi” chapter might indicate that these introductions were added at some point during the complex editing process of the *Shangshu*. Although neither the time nor the place of the speech are given, “Shang shi,” like several other *Shangshu* chapters,⁴³ provides more detailed information about the audience in its address. All three chapters (and many other early Chinese texts) share the element of a historical precedent, with the “Duo” chapters sharing exactly the same historical narrative.

Elements that occur in only one of the three chapters are

- Metareflection on the speech (SS)
- Historical precedent: wisdom of the Shang kings following Hou Ji (SS)
- The ruin of Shang is the punishment of Heaven executed by Zhou (DS)
- Indictments of recent transgressions of the subdued Shang (statement) (DF)
- Indictments of recent transgressions of the subdued Shang (in the form of questions) (DF)

Of these, the metareflection on the speech occurs as an introductory part also in some other chapters such as “Gu ming” 顧命 and “Kang wang zhi gao” 康王之誥. Mention of the

⁴² See Yegor Grebnev's contribution in the present volume (chapter 7).

⁴³ See the beginnings of “Harangue at Mu” (“Mu shi” 牧誓), “Establishment of Government” (“Li zheng” 立政), “Testamentary Charge” (“Gu ming” 顧命), and “Announcement of King Kang” (“Kang wang zhi gao” 康王之誥) and different passages in “Announcement about Drunkenness” (“Jiu gao” 酒誥).

wisdom of the Shang kings and the indictments belong to the broader categories of “historical precedents” and “indictments of the enemy,” which can be found in many chapters of the *Shangshu* as well. References to Hou Ji 后稷, however, occur only twice in the *Shangshu*, in “Shun dian” 舜典 and “Lü xing” 吕刑, in both cases in a line mentioning other famous early ministers.⁴⁴ Hou Ji is also mentioned twice in the *Yi Zhoushu*, namely, in connection with Shangdi and the Zhou.⁴⁵ “The ruin of Shang is the punishment of Heaven executed by the Zhou” in DS belongs to the part “Heaven thereupon transferred its Mandate to the Zhou” (SS, DS, DF). Thus, all of the above listed parts can be regarded as belonging to a set of elements that occur in other *Shangshu* chapters as well.

B. Composition and Intertextuality

These main parts can be further broken down into smaller and more coherent compositional units, a type of structure reminiscent of Lothar Ledderose’s model of Chinese script and art as consisting of “modules,” taken from a cultural “repertoire,” that can be combined in different ways to create a variety of linguistic and artistic forms.⁴⁶ Accordingly, we can analyze the three chapters as consisting of a number of modules that are combined in different ways to produce the texts. Most of these modules can be found in numerous chapters of the *Shangshu*. I will list them roughly according to their occurrence in the “Shang shi” and “Duo” chapters.

1. Historical setting of the speech
2. Time when the speech was made
3. Place where the speech was made
4. Indication of who is speaking
5. Audience to which the speech was addressed

⁴⁴ Legge 1991: 43–44, 595.

⁴⁵ *Yi Zhoushu*, “Zuo Luo jie” 作雒解 (verbatim also in *Liji*, “Mingtang wei” 明堂位) and “Ji Gong jie” 祭公解; Huang Huaixin 1995: 568, 997.

⁴⁶ Ledderose 2000. Note that what Ledderose calls “modules” have been called “constituents” or “paragraphs” by Broschat (1985: 87–127), “components” by Meyer (2002, 2005), “building blocks” by Boltz (2005), and “literarische Kleinstformen” by Richter (2006: 254). What Ledderose (2000: 1, 2, 20, 21, 25, etc.), Seiwert and Ma (2003: 489–494) in a similar model for Chinese sectarian religions, and Kern (in chapter 8 in the present volume) call “repertoire” has been called “reservoir” by Boltz (2005: 59). For “repertoire” as a broader cultural studies term, see Hannerz 1969: 186–188, quoted by Swidler (1986: 277), who famously has interpreted it as a cultural “tool kit.” See also the critical reflection on that concept in Silber 2003.

6. Instruction to be attentive and carefully listen to the speech
7. Self-reflective meta-announcement on the function and status of the speech
8. The virtuousness of an early dynasty or its ruler(s) (Xia: Yu, Hou Ji; Shang: Cheng Tang; Zhou: King Wu)
9. The wickedness of a late dynasty or its last ruler (Xia: Jie; Shang: Zhou)
10. Heaven's disapproval
11. Heaven's withdrawal of the Heavenly Mandate
12. Loss of the Mandate
13. Receiving of the Mandate
14. Ruin of a dynasty
15. Heaven's punishment
16. Heaven's order to punish
17. Heaven's support
18. Heaven's withdrawal of support
19. Zhou having no intent to attack the Shang
20. Zhou being without mistake/guilt
21. Shang bearing guilt
22. Shang people bearing no guilt
23. Zhou executing Heaven's punishment
24. Zhou conquest of Shang
25. Zhou merely following Heaven's order
26. Zhou not daring not to follow Heaven's order
27. Instruction to follow Heaven
28. Instruction to follow and obey Zhou
29. Reward for cooperation
30. Punishment for resistance
31. Accusing questions: "Why do you not ... ?"

Sentence by sentence, the following passage from "Duo shi" is a combination of such modules:

[4] The king spoke to the effect: [5] “You, the many remaining officers of Yin! [15] Unpitying, Heaven in its autumn mood sent down ruin on Yin, [17] and we, the lords of Zhou, received its favoring decree. [26] We felt charged with its bright terrors, [23] carried out the punishments that kings inflict, [24] rightly disposed of the appointment of Yin, [25] and finished the work of Di. [5] Now, you numerous officers, [19] it was not our small state that dared to aim at the appointment belonging to Yin. [18] But Heaven was not with Yin, [18] for indeed it would not strengthen its misrule. [17] It therefore helped us; [19] did we dare to seek the throne of ourselves? [18] Di was not for Yin, [20] as appeared from the mind and conduct of our inferior people, in which there is the brilliant dreadfulness of Heaven.”⁴⁷

[4] 王若曰：[5] 爾殷遺多士！[15] 弗弔，旻天大降喪於殷；[17] 我有周佑命，[26] 將天明威，[23] 致王罰，[24] 敕殷命[25] 終於帝。[5] 肆爾多士[19] 非我小國敢弋殷命，[18] 惟天不畀，[18] 允罔固亂，[17] 弼我；[19] 我其敢求位？[18] 惟帝不畀，[20] 惟我下民秉為，惟天明畏。

These modules are typically combined into larger discursive units, which appear, with some verbatim parallels, also in other chapters. Compare the following beginnings of chapters:

“Duo shi” 多士: 4-5-15-17

[4] The king spoke to the effect: – [5] “You, the many remaining officers of Yin! – [15] Unpitying, Heaven in its autumn mood sent down ruin on Yin, – [17] and we, the lords of Zhou, received its favoring decree.”⁴⁸

[4] 王若曰：– [5] 爾殷遺多士！– [15] 弗弔，旻天大降喪於殷；– [17] 我有周佑命。

“Jun Shi” 君奭: 4-5-15-16-17

[4] The Duke of Zhou spoke to the effect: – [5] “Prince Shih! – [15] Unpitying, Heaven sent down ruin on Yin; – [12] Yin has lost its appointment, – [17] and we, the lords of

⁴⁷ Trans. Legge 1991: 454–455, amended.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

Zhou, have received it.⁴⁹

[4] 周公若曰：－[5] 君奭！－[15] 弗弔，天降喪于殷；－[12] 殷既墜厥命；－[17] 我有周既受。

“Da gao” 大誥: 4-7-5-15

[4] The king spoke to the effect:－[7] “Ho! I make a great announcement－[5] to you, the representatives of the many States, and to you, the managers of my affairs.－[15]

Unpitied, Heaven sent down numerous calamities on my House.⁵⁰

[4] 王若曰：－[7] 猷大誥－[5] 爾多邦，越爾御事！－[15] 弗弔，天降割于我家不少。

Other typical combinations are 8-9-18-15 and 8-9-10-11-16. Some of these sequences are surprisingly stable, as David Schaberg has shown in his detailed comparison of the modules in the “Jun Shi” chapter with all their parallels in other *Shangshu* chapters,⁵¹ while others appear in various recombinations, and still others work on the basis of “family resemblances.”⁵² The repetitive use of some of these particular modules constitutes a rather dense intertextuality between some of the *Shangshu* chapters that is not seen to the same extent in any other early Chinese texts.

Some of these modules are reminiscent of other kinds of early texts. The detailed descriptions of the cruelty of the tyrants Jie and Zhou recall announcements of indictment (*gao zui* 告罪); the praise of the virtues of the early rulers Hou Ji, Cheng Tang, and King Wu recall eulogies (*song* 頌), epithets, and encomia on ancestral tablets and sagas of the ancient kings;⁵³ the reports of the virtuous actions of the Zhou may be compared with announcements (*gao* 告) of merit and prayers to the ancestors to seek their blessings and protection; the orders to follow Heaven or to follow the new rulers of the Zhou are reminiscent of charges (*ming* 命); the

⁴⁹ Trans. Legge 1991: 474, amended.

⁵⁰ Trans. Legge 1991: 362, amended.

⁵¹ See Schaberg 1996: 201–210, 218–222.

⁵² This term was coined by Ludwig Wittgenstein in his *Philosophical Investigations* (1953) to describe a method of identifying things not by means of one common feature but by a pool of similarities of which they share several but not all. Martin Kern finds the same phenomenon in the harangues: “However, while each text may lack one or two features, it still contains all the rest” (see chapter 8 in this volume).

⁵³ See Shaughnessy 2007: 855–861, 877.

promises of reward and threats of punishment imply a contractual element that we also find in oaths (*shi* 誓) and covenants (*meng* 盟); the accounts of historical precedents can be compared with historical narratives. In many of the *Shangshu* chapters all these different text types seem to be skillfully combined into sequences that form arguments.

As I will argue below in my discussion on dating, the *Shangshu* has very few intertextual parallels with other sources. Most parallels of terms, phrases, and expressions appear in other *Shangshu* chapters, including ancient-script chapters.⁵⁴ Many of the modules pointed out above are restricted to the texts of the “Shu” traditions.⁵⁵ The two “Duo” chapters—“Duo shi” more than “Duo fang”—show a number of parallels with a limited number of other *Shangshu* chapters, especially “Jun Shi” and “Jiu gao” 酒誥. Most parallels, however, can be found between the two “Duo” chapters themselves. “Shang shi” in turn has more parallels with the “Tai shi” 泰誓 chapters (especially “Tai shi shang” 泰誓上) than with the “Duo” chapters (with which it also shares numerous parallels).

C. Argumentative Structure

By linking “Shang shi”—which is ascribed to King Wu (unlike the two “Duo” chapters, which are ascribed to King Cheng or Zhou Gong)—to the execution of Shangdi’s order, the king marks his speech as highly authoritative. The historical precedent that is then propounded refers back to the high ancestor of Zhou, Hou Ji 后稷, who had been mandated by Shangdi as well. King Wu claims that Hou Ji’s agricultural inventions, such as the introduction of millet—used for both food and sacrifices—had been held in high esteem by the sage Xia king Yu as well as the Shang. Thus, the Zhou ancestor was already an active and recognized part of the divine regime of the Xia even before the Shang had received their Mandate; furthermore, the institution he created continued to be of vital importance to the Shang’s successful governance and communication with the divine powers. These claims construct a historical position for the Zhou clan within the continuum of the divinely sanctioned regimes, which makes them a natural candidate for a legitimate succession. King Wu then proceeds to offer more recent historical evidence that the

⁵⁴ If we assume that most of the ancient-script chapters are later productions, then these would have been modeled on the earlier modern-script chapters. In this case these later compositions reflect a thorough understanding of the thematic contexts, modular nature, compositional principles, and linguistic specificity of the earlier chapters.

⁵⁵ For this somewhat broader view of “texts of the ‘Shu’ traditions,” see Meyer’s chapter 3 in this volume.

Zhou have rightfully taken over the Mandate. Defining the new position of the Zhou between Heaven and Earth, the king also formulates his conditions for protecting the Shang people and guaranteeing them a comfortable life. Overall, the argumentation moves along the lines also found in the “Duo” and other *Shangshu* chapters that discuss the conquests of wicked enemies, be it the conquests of the Xia (“Gan shi”), the Shang (“Tang shi”), or the Zhou (“Tai shi,” “Mu shi” 牧誓, “Jiu gao” 酒誥, “Shao gao” 召誥, “Jun Shi” 君奭, “Li zheng” 立政).

The main difference in the line of argumentation between “Shang shi” and the “Duo” chapters lies in their claims of historical precedents. By constructing a historical analogy between the reasons for the Shang and the Zhou conquests, the “Duo” chapters (like some other *Shangshu* chapters) claim a continuation of an established pattern of dynastic succession and thus the same legitimacy that the Shang (rightfully) claimed for themselves after their conquest of the Xia. They each do this but with a slightly different attitude.

Explaining the Zhou conquest, “Duo shi” asserts repeatedly that it was not Zhou’s own desire to overthrow the Shang, but that they merely executed Shangdi’s command and implemented an order and a role bestowed upon them by Heaven; the argument focuses on issues of responsibility and guilt, with all guilt placed on the Shang. “Duo fang,” on the other hand, depicts a sharp contrast between the moral wickedness and negligence of the Shang and the shining virtues of the Zhou: the Zhou are chosen to replace the Shang because they were morally able to continue the divine regime. The focus here lies on merit and failure. “Duo fang” also addresses yet another issue. While “Shang shi” announces that “today I will for the first time give you my instructions” (今惟新誥命爾), “Duo fang” twice indicts the subdued people for not obeying the orders already given to them, ending with an entire list of questions to urge the former Shang people to obey and cooperate with the Zhou. Altogether, the three chapters thus reflect slightly different argumentative strategies of asserting legitimate rule. Where “Shang shi” claims that the Zhou have been part of the divine regime since the Xia and therefore naturally take over from the Shang, the “Duo” chapters argue that the Zhou play exactly the same role that the Xia and the Shang played before in a historical pattern of dynastic moral rise and decline, either as merely fulfilling a duty conferred on them by Heaven or as a morally superior agent. In each case, however, the Zhou do not claim to create something new, to reform or change the existing order. Instead, they take their now rightful place appointed by Heaven, which puts them in the position formerly held by the Shang and, furthermore, puts the subdued Shang in the

position of the formerly subdued Xia. The logic of the conquest is constructed in a twofold analogy: between the wicked last rulers of Xia and Shang (punished by the Lords on High in Heaven, including the Xia and Shang ancestors)⁵⁶ and between the virtuous first rulers of Shang and Zhou (the new legitimate power). In addition, the Duke of Zhou, who delivers the “Duo” speeches on behalf of King Cheng, ensures that the virtuous royal ancestors, Kings Wen and Wu, enter the general pantheon of the Lords on High in a widened Heaven—a Heaven invented by the Zhou as the common realm of all former wise kings, where the ancestors of Zhou have now come to join the sacred genealogy of ancient sages.⁵⁷ The main argumentative purpose of these chapters is, first, to make this twofold analogy plausible to the former Shang officers and, second, to define the new place and identity of the former Shang officers and the new Zhou rulers within this threefold relationship of former wicked rulers, new legitimate rulers, and Heaven.

D. Rhetoric and Literary Forms

The explanation of this new relationship to the subdued Shang is also noteworthy for the rhetorical form in which the king addresses them. Martin Kern has observed a heavy use of first- and second-person pronouns in “Duo shi” and has interpreted this as “a feature typical of liturgical speech” and “a conscious stylistic choice that adds rhythm, intensity, and a rhetorical emphasis on personality to the speech.” He describes the text as one that “comes to life only as a performance text. In its extremely formalized diction, and in particular through its emphasis on the first-person pronoun, it exudes the royal charisma of the king as persona, political institution, and ancestral model.”⁵⁸ This is certainly a sensitive reading. The power of the speech, however, rests not on the charisma of the royal authority alone but also on the repeated references to the authority of the Heavenly laws that have reshuffled the power relationships between the Shang and the Zhou. By constantly alternating between first- (*yu* 予, *wo* 我, *zhen* 朕) and second-person (*er* 爾, *ru* 汝) pronouns and, further, between the different superhuman agencies (*tian* 天, [*shang*]*di* [上]帝, *xianzu* 先祖, *zong* 宗, Cheng Tang 成湯, Di Yi 帝乙, Hou Ji 后稷, Yu 禹, *xian zhewang* 先哲王, [*wen*]*kao* [文]考), all three texts perpetually weave the new pattern of this

⁵⁶ Passages in the second half of the “Pan Geng zhong” 盤庚中 chapter (Legge 1991: 238–240) and the “Shao gao” 召誥 chapter (Legge 1991: 426) support this interpretation.

⁵⁷ For the phrase that the Zhou ancestors “flanked [Shang]Di on the left and the right” (在帝左右), see below.

⁵⁸ Kern 2009: 186–188.

threefold relationship. The beginning of the chapter “Duo shi” serves as a good example of the density of this rhetoric. The words marked in **bold** represent one of the three players (or what stands for them). Verbs, auxiliary verbs, and adverbs rendered in *italics* show relational actions carried out among those players:

The **king** *spoke* to the effect: “**You, the many remaining officers of Yin!** *Unpitying, Heaven in its autumn mood sent down ruin on Yin, and we, the lords of Zhou, received its favoring decree. We felt charged with its bright terrors, carried out the punishments that kings inflict, rightly disposed of the appointment of Yin, and finished the work of Di.* Now, **you numerous officers**, it was not **our small state** that *dared to aim* at the **appointment belonging to Yin**. But **Heaven** *was not with Yin*, for indeed **it would not strengthen its misrule**. **It** *therefore helped us; did we dare to seek the throne of ourselves? Di was not for Yin*, as appeared from the mind and *conduct* of **our** inferior people, in which there is the **brilliant dreadfulness of Heaven**.”⁵⁹

王若曰：「爾殷遺多士！弗吊，旻天大降喪於殷；我有周佑命，將天明威，致王罰，敕殷命終於帝。肆爾多士，非我小國敢弋殷命，惟天不畀，允罔固亂，弼我；我其敢求位？」

There are hardly any words in this passage that do not serve to give expression to the way the threefold relationship between the Shang, the Zhou, and the superhuman agencies is envisioned by the speaker. The function of these constant alternations is not to blend their positions but to tell them apart through the rhetorical force of parallel constructions and verbatim repetitions. Another example from the “Duo fang” chapter may illustrate this. The repetitiveness of personal pronouns as the first words of the lines is supported by the repetition of identical words at the ends of the lines: *ming* 命—and other words rhyming in the *geng* 耕 and *yang* 陽 rhyme groups—are connected to *er* 爾, while *zhi* 之 is connected to *wo* 我. To reproduce the rigid rhetorical structure of the Chinese text and make its syntax apparent, I concede a number of awkward formulations in my translation:

⁵⁹ Legge 1991: 454–455, amended.

Now,

I, why [do I] presume to make all these announcements?

I have indeed greatly issued my instructions to **you** people of the four states.

You, why [do you] not show sincere and generous obedience in **your** many regions?

You, why [do you] not assist and cooperate in protecting the Mandate that **our** Zhou
kings received from Heaven?

Now,

You still dwell in **your** dwellings
and cultivate **your** fields.

You, why [do you] not benefit our kings and consolidate the Mandate of Heaven?

You instead repeatedly act insubordinate.

Your heart-minds do not yet care.

You instead do not greatly feel at home under the [new] Mandate of Heaven,

You instead despise and reject the [new] Mandate of Heaven,

You instead do not yourself follow the norms and yet count on the sincere correctness [of
others].

I have indeed at times taught and announced this to you.

I have indeed at times fought against this and have confined you for this,
two times,
three times.

So when you further continue to ignore the instructions, which **I** issue to **you**,

I then will greatly punish this with death.

今
我曷敢多誥？
我惟大降爾四國民命。 [耕]
爾曷不忱裕之于爾多方？ [陽]
爾曷不夾介乂我周王享天之命？ [耕]
今
爾尚宅爾宅
畋爾田。
爾曷不惠王熙天之命？ [耕]

爾乃迪屢不靜。	[耕]
爾心未愛。 ⁶⁰	
爾乃不大宅天命，	[耕]
爾乃屑播天命，	[耕]
爾乃自作不典圖忱于正。	[耕]
我惟時其教告之。	[之]
我惟時其戰要囚之，	[之]
至于再，	
至于三。	
乃有不用我降爾命，	[耕]
我乃其大罰殛之。	[之]

Another example from the same chapter shows an even stricter composition:

You yourself create disharmony,	you indeed should just be harmonious!
Your homes are not peaceful,	you indeed should just be harmonious!
Your cities can be made bright,	you indeed should just diligently do your work!

自作不和，爾惟和哉！
 爾室不睦，爾惟和哉！
 爾邑克明，爾惟克勤乃事。

The literary forms of both “Duo” chapters reflect this woodcutish style of distinct lines also on the macro-level of text composition. “Duo shi” is composed of clear-cut argumentative units with formal markers like parallelisms, general authoritative statements, and double-directed parallelisms.⁶¹ Its line of argument begins with the general problem of the legitimacy of the conquest, first with references to Heaven and the Lords on High, then with reference to patterns of historical precedence. From there, the argument turns to the Shang’s historical guilt and the order to obey the Zhou. Finally, it engages with the concrete situation of the officers at Luo.

The argumentation of “Duo fang” is similar but less well organized. Yet its composition is even stricter in its listings, parallelisms, and formal markers of the argumentative units. My following translation again serves to reveal the structural features of the Chinese text:

⁶⁰ This line clearly deviates from both the syntactical and the rhyme schemes.

⁶¹ A “double-directed parallelism” consists of two parallel lines that, in a Janus-faced manner, have parallel features with both the preceding and the following sentence, often to bridge two paragraphs in a text. See Gentz 2005, 2015.

- 1 The king spoke to the effect:
2 I announce and declare to you [from the] numerous regions,
3 It is not that Heaven wanted to abolish the ruler of Xia,
4 It is not that Heaven wanted to abolish the ruler of Yin,
5 But indeed your ruler, with your numerous regions, behaved excessively, and when it came to attending to the Heavenly Mandate, he made trifling retreats.
6 But indeed the ruler of Xia, when it came to attending his governance, did not assemble for sacrifices.⁶² Heaven sent down this ruin, and a ruler of one of the states intermitted it.
7 But indeed your last Shang king indulged in his leisure, and when it came to attending to his governance, he did not make the sacrifices illustrious. Heaven thereupon sent down this ruin.
8 Indeed, even the sages when **incapable** of thinking will become savages;
9 Indeed, even the savages when **capable** of thinking will become sages.
10 Heaven indeed then allowed five years for successors who might be adequate rulers to be produced, but none of them could be appreciated.
11 Heaven indeed then searched in your numerous regions, rousing people greatly by means of its majesty to encourage someone to attend Heaven.
12 But indeed of you [from the] numerous regions **nobody was able** to attend it.
13 But indeed our Zhou kings efficaciously received the splendid blessings,⁶³ **were able** to adequately make use of their virtue, and properly carried out the sacrifices to spirits and Heaven.
14 Heaven indeed thereupon provided patterns for instruction, and as we used them propitiously it chose us to confer Yin's Mandate to us and to rule over your numerous regions.

⁶² My translation of the middle parts of sentences 6, 7, and 13 is guided by the strict parallelism of lines 6 and 7 as well as 13 and 14. It also follows a basic strategy to interpret the *Shangshu* more in the light of the sacrificial language of the bronze inscriptions (with *ji* 集, *xiang* 享, *juan zheng* 饗烝, and *ling cheng* 靈承 all bearing connotations to sacrificial contexts) than of a *minben* 民本 (people-as-foundation) concept as Legge does it throughout (see an analysis of Legge's translation strategy in Gentz forthcoming).

⁶³ I follow the most convincing reading here: that of Yu Xingwu 2009: 250), who points out that *lingcheng* 靈承 in bronze inscriptions always means to numinously receive something from above and who reads *lǚ* 旅 as *jiāxiū* 嘉休 (favorable blessings). I am grateful to Joern Grundmann for pointing this out to me.

1 王若曰：

2 誥告 爾多方，

3 非天庸釋 有夏，

4 非天庸釋 有殷；

5 乃 惟 爾辟以爾多方，大淫 圖天之命，屑辭。

6 乃 惟 有夏， 圖厥政，不集于享；天 降時喪，有邦間之。

7 乃 惟 爾商後王，逸厥逸， 圖厥政，不蠲烝； 天惟降時喪。

8 惟聖罔念作狂，

X

9 惟狂克念作聖。

10 天惟五年 須臾之子孫，誕作民主；罔可念聽。

11 天惟求 爾多方， 大動以威， 開厥顧天。

[文部]

12 惟 爾多士， 罔堪顧之。

[文部]

X

13 惟 我周王， 靈承于旅， 克堪用德， 惟典神天。

14 天惟式教 我用休， 簡畀殷命， 尹爾多方

The formal parallelism of lines 3 and 4 supports the claim that the two historical events of the Shang and the Zhou conquest belong to an identical pattern of history.⁶⁴

Lines 8 and 9 lead from the reasons why Heaven sent down ruin on the former dynasties (lines 3–7) to the reasons why Heaven chose the Zhou as their successors (lines 10–14), bridging two sections that are conceived as parallel yet oppositional: the rise of Zhou mirrors the fall of Shang. Lines 8 and 9 represent this reverse parallelism in their chiasmic structure as a double-directed parallelism that binds both parts together.⁶⁵ They also explain the pivotal factor that drives this inversion: reflection (*nian* 念). The oppositional pairs in these proverb-like lines, where sagehood and savagery can switch places, are literally hinged on the centrally positioned

⁶⁴ The sequence *er duo fang* 爾多方, *you Xia* 有夏, and *you Yin* 有殷 in lines 2–4 is repeated in lines 5–7 (with *er Shang hou wang* 爾商後王 as a variant for *you Yin* 有殷) and thus emphasized. This suggests that the numerous regions are regarded as a part of this pattern.

⁶⁵ See n. 56.

notions of being capable (克念) or incapable (罔念) of contemplation (*nian* 念).

Lines 10–14 in turn pivot on lines 12 and 13. Lines 10–12 show how people who could have received the Heavenly Mandate were incapable of receiving it despite Heaven’s assistance (as a historical illustration of the abstract principle formulated in line 8). Lines 13–14 show how the Zhou, in contrast, were able to learn from (much less obvious) Heavenly patterns and consequently received the Mandate (thus illustrating line 9). The transition is constructed in the pivotal line 12 with its multiple parallelisms both backward to lines 10–11 and forward to lines 13–14 that create a dense web of semantic and formal identities and oppositions involving personal pronouns, metric patterns, and negations and affirmations of identical actions.⁶⁶ The central tetrasyllabic unit in line 13 (克堪用德), with its strongly affirmative *ke kan* 克堪 facing the negating *wang kan* 罔堪 in line 12 (罔堪顧之), is flanked by two further, equally strong units (靈承于旅 and 惟典神天); here, one might even suggest that the literary form—in a manner reminiscent of unequal military units facing each other—exposes the weakness of Yin (with just one four-character unit) versus the strength of Zhou (with three four-character units). All told, it appears that “Duo fang” employs the design of textual microstructure to support the argument in more sophisticated and successful ways.

While “Shang shi” follows largely the same line of argument as the two “Duo” chapters and also uses explicit markers such as *gu* 古 or *xi* 昔 (in antiquity) versus *jin* 今 (now) for historical contrast, it is less strictly composed: apart from two blocks of five tetrasyllabic lines to portray the last and the first Shang ruler, respectively, there are no listings, parallelisms, or other formal markers to distinguish textual units, and parts of the text appear misplaced. That said, “Shang shi” accords with the basic structure and sequence of its main parts and clearly belongs to the same text type as the “Duo” chapters.

The *Shangshu* Context of the “Duo” Chapters

The “Duo” chapters share terminology, concepts, arguments, rhetorical patterns, and historical contents with many other chapters in the *Shangshu*. They also share particular systematic

⁶⁶ William Baxter (1998: 236) has described similar parallelisms in the *Laozi* as “semantic parallelism or antithesis with corresponding words in adjacent lines.” For a more specific analysis of “parallelisms of identical members,” see Gentz 2015: 117–118, 122–125. In these particular parallelisms, one or several identical graphs take a parallel position in two adjacent lines or stanzas. The “Duo” chapters make frequent use of this literary form.

features such as topic and rhetorical pattern with some chapters, while sharing specific historical contents with others.

The basic topic of the “Duo” chapters is the explanation of the reasons for a dynastic conquest to an audience yet to be convinced of the legitimacy of the conquest so as to actively support it. In this regard, the “Duo” chapters belong with the *shi* 誓, “harangues.” Both groups of chapters also share the same rhetorical and argumentative structure, including certain basic components of speech arranged in a particular sequence. Like the “Duo” chapters, the “harangues” construct a threefold relationship between superhuman agents and new and old rulers. They also include chapters that in their discussions of the conquest emphasize the aspects of responsibility versus guilt and others that focus on aspects of moral failure versus accomplishment. “Gan shi,” “Tang shi,” and “Mu shi” are all mainly concerned with the question of responsibility and, like “Duo shi,” assiduously emphasize the mere fulfillment of Heaven’s order. “Tai shi shang,” in contrast, depicts in greater detail than any other *Shangshu* chapter the moral squalor of the last Shang ruler versus the splendid virtues of the Zhou rulers and hence more closely resembles “Duo fang.” Some *Shangshu* chapters provide additional reasons to legitimate the conquest: auspicious divination (“Tai shi zhong” 泰誓中, “Da gao” 大誥, “Luo gao” 洛誥), the merit of virtuous ancestors (“Tai shi xia” 泰誓下), the support of worthy ministers (“Jun Shi,” “Li zheng,” “Zhou guan” 周官), and drunkenness as a negative criterion (“Jiu gao” 酒誥, “Wu yi” 無逸), for which we also have striking inscriptional evidence from the Da Yu-*ding* 大盂鼎 bronze inscription from ca. 982 BCE.⁶⁷

The historical contents reflected in the “Duo” chapters relate to the consolidation phase after the Zhou conquest during the reign of King Cheng (1042/1035–1006 BCE). In this respect, they belong to a group of *Shangshu* chapters that have as one of their central themes the question of how to deal with the remnant Yin officers and people (“Da gao,” “Weizi zhi ming” 微子之命, “Kang gao” 康誥, “Jiu gao,” “Zi cai” 梓材, “Shao gao,” “Luo gao”). Modern scholars consider most of these chapters to belong to the earliest layer and core part of the *Shangshu*. All connected to the Duke of Zhou, these chapters provide glimpses into what must have been a consensual attitude toward the Yin, namely, an inclusivist approach not only toward the people

⁶⁷ See Shaughnessy 1991: 110.

and their qualifications for office but also toward their history and culture, including their institutions such as law, divination, and sacrifice. The entire chapter “Weizi zhi ming” (“Command to the Count of Wei”) deals with the appointment of the Duke of Song, who is charged with the continuation of the Shang royal genealogical line. As a member of the Shang royal clan on friendly terms with the Zhou, he is regarded as a guest of the Zhou royal house, who greatly praise the virtue of his ancestors. In “Kang gao,” Kang Shu, who rules over the principality of Wei 衛, the main city of which is the old Yin capital, is encouraged to study the old Shang kings in order to know how to rule the Yin people; he is admonished to protect them, to renew them (*xin min* 新民), and even to act according to their law (*fa bi Yin yi* 罰蔽殷彝). In “Jiu gao,” the Duke of Zhou addresses the same Kang Shu, who is depicted as having to deal with the devastating Shang habit of drinking. He suggests that Yin officers addicted to drinking should not be put to death but be taught to abandon drinking. In “Zi cai,” Kang Shu is yet again advised to be on good terms with the people, ministers, and families of his principality, to respect, encourage, and protect them, and to not give way to oppression. The peaceful and appropriate interaction with the former Yin people is a constant theme discussed in these chapters.

The chapters “Shao gao” and “Luo gao” in turn deal with the building of the new city of Luo. This city is built by Yin people, and a large population of Yin is then also settled there; thus, they need to be ruled. Similar to “Luo gao,” “Shao gao” suggests that Yin officers should cooperate to regulate their nature and to improve it on a daily basis (*jie xing wei ri qi mai* 節性惟日其邁). Like “Kang gao,” “Luo gao” stresses that the rituals of Yin should be employed in the city they dwell in, that the officers should be employed according to their merit, and that they should enjoy prosperity. The “Duo” chapters partly address the mass resettlement to Luo. They conclude the block of *Shangshu* chapters that start with “Da gao,” and all deal with the presence of the people of Yin. However, the “Duo” chapters do not advise the Zhou rulers as to how to govern and reeducate the Yin. Instead, they demonstrate practical examples of how to deal with, communicate, and argue with the Yin. In this sense the chapters reflect the practical application of the principles of leniency, educative effort, and forbearance that are formulated as theoretical guidelines in the other chapters. The two “Duo” chapters provide concrete textual models and examples of rulership.

The unique combination of two different types of *Shangshu* chapters—conquest

harangues and chapters dealing with the Yin people—generated an idealized account of how the early Zhou kings dealt with their subdued enemies in situ within a unified cultural realm. The chapters thereby reconcile the antagonism between the Zhou and the Shang and establish the Zhou’s claim of ruling peacefully in perpetuating the same Mandate in an identical role within the same divine regime and a common (reconstructed and appropriated) history, a first concept of “Huaxia history.” Historical rupture—the conquest—becomes defined as continuity. These chapters thus take their place within a literary corpus that was constructed for, and contributed to, the new ideology of a unified realm. This explains why the “Duo” chapters, together with “Shang shi,” constitute a distinct and peculiar type of text, which cannot be found in any other kingdom of the early literate cultures. But why do we have three of these texts?

Why Three?

Why were all three texts transmitted, and two of them in the *Shangshu*? One of these speeches, ideally in a slightly better organized form, would have sufficed to create an ideal model of the past for commemoration, mythical imagination, propaganda, or emulation. The fact that three versions of this text type have been preserved, two within one collection, however, indicates that an advantage was perceived in having two or three variants available for authoritative referencing. Providing multiple variants of a text genre instead of one fixed normative version did not aim to commemorate multiple historical events but to present a flexible model of an effective speech to subdued officers for variable adaption under different historical circumstances. These texts may thus have served as prototypes and templates to be perpetually rewritten for further speech acts in similar contexts.⁶⁸

Chen Mengjia has interpreted the formula *wang ruo yue* (the king spoke thus) as indicating that the king did not perform the speech himself but ordered someone else to perform the speech on his behalf.⁶⁹ Western Zhou bronze inscriptions furnish rich evidence that royal speeches were indeed proclaimed by some high official in the presence of the king. Similarly, “Shang shi” and the “Duo” chapters might reflect three separate occasions in which the king did

⁶⁸ In his essay on the harangues (chapter 8 in this volume), Kern describes these as different textual realizations based on a larger body, or “repertoire,” of textual material and imagination.

⁶⁹ Chen Mengjia 1985: 146–170; emphatically followed by Allan 2012: 553. For a different interpretation of *wang ruo yue* in bronze inscriptions (in my view not applicable to the monologic *Shangshu* speeches), see Falkenhausen 2011: 264–267.

not perform this speech himself. In the case of the “Duo” chapters, it is Zhou Gong who performs the speech, while “Shang shi” does not mention the speaker or provide any context but directly starts with *wang ruo yue*. There is no evidence that the king was present at the time of any of the proclamations. This might further indicate that copies of such speeches traveled independently from the king and yet embodied his own voice at different places at the same time. They might—even in later times—have been used by rulers of Zhou principalities, heads of lines of the royal kin or other powerful families who, as representatives of the king in the larger Zhou polity, executed the royal mandate in their estates and led military campaigns on their own.⁷⁰ As blueprints for local adaptation, such documents would not have needed specific historical contextualization. We can even imagine that they were distributed to render the king’s voice omnipresent, replacing him as he became less personally involved in the regulation of affairs,⁷¹ a shift of power from the presence of the king to the text and its administrator that is closely associated with the Duke of Zhou.⁷²

The longevity of these speeches as a model was remarkable. In 1644, following the Manchu conquest, Dorgon (愛新覺羅·多爾袞, 1612–1650), the first Manchu regent and de facto ruler, addressed the subdued people of Beijing. In its basic structure and argumentation, his speech is identical with “Shang shi” and the “Duo” chapters.⁷³ However, Dorgon’s speech did not accomplish its purpose.⁷⁴

Dating

Parallels to Bronze Inscriptions

After earlier attempts by Wang Guowei 王國維 and other scholars to point out parallels between

⁷⁰ Khayutina 2014: 54–56.

⁷¹ Creel 1970: 433–434.

⁷² Lewis 1999: 211–213.

⁷³ See a translation of this speech in Wakeman 1975: 81. The method of composing such texts from modules was still prevalent at this time: the first part of this decree can also be found in nearly identical form in a reply that Dorgon sent to Wu Sangui in 1644 (see Cheng, Lestz, and Spence 1999: 26–27). On November 8, 1644, when the six-year-old Shunzhi emperor was enthroned, he compared his uncle Dorgon’s achievements to those of the Duke of Zhou.

⁷⁴ A year after Dorgon had made his speech, the residents of Yangzhou still refused to submit. A massacre lasted ten days after the city fell on May 20, 1645. Traditionally, the number of victims was reported as close to 800,000. See Struve 1998.

the *Shijing* and the *Shangshu*,⁷⁵ Jiang Kunwu 姜昆武, Chen Zhi 陳致, and others have more recently and on the basis of much broader inscriptional evidence shown the many parallels between bronze inscriptions, the *Shijing*, and the *Shangshu* on the level of two-, three-, and four-character compounds.⁷⁶ Many of these, especially those on mid- to late Western Zhou bronzes, can also be attested for the “Duo” chapters. Yet the intertextuality within these three corpora is far more intense than that between them.⁷⁷ A character like *kan* 侃 (uprightness), for example, quite common on bronze-bell inscriptions, does not appear once in any of the *Five Classics*; *huang kao* 皇考 (august deceased father), very common on bronzes, occurs several times in the *Shijing* but is not used once in the entire *Shangshu*. Similarly, the highest density of intertextual elements in the *Shijing* odes can be found among the odes themselves. Even the chapters in the *Yi Zhoushu*, which share many terms and phrases with the *Shangshu*, clearly show an even greater density of intertextuality among themselves. The *Shangshu* is no exception. Most parallels of terms, phrases, and expressions appear in other *Shangshu* chapters and to a far lesser degree in other texts.

In his comparison of the language of bronze inscriptions and the “Gao” chapters in the *Shangshu*, Kai Vogelsang tried to show the lack of commonalities and the different usage of characters, stylistic and rhetorical devices, and grammatical features in the two different corpora.⁷⁸ His conclusion is that the language of the bronze inscriptions is *not* identical with that of the “Gao” chapters and that the bronzes and the *Shangshu* have to be regarded as two different kinds of sources. Using the far more comprehensive “Digital Archives of Bronze Images and Inscriptions” (殷周金文暨青銅器資料庫) of the Academia Sinica, I have used Vogelsang’s approach to compare the “Duo” chapters against the bronzes and come to the same conclusions.

⁷⁵ See Wang Guowei 1959.

⁷⁶ See Jiang Kunwu 1989. Of the 160 compounds listed there, only 3 are composed of three characters; all the others have only two. Chen Zhi (2012) lists four-character parallels. A striking example is the four-character phrase *rou yuan neng er* 柔遠能邇, which occurs in the late Western Zhou Qiu-pan 逌盤 (aka Lai-pan 來盤) bronze inscription as well as in the “Shun dian” 舜典, “Gu ming” 顧命, and “Wen hou zhi ming” 文侯之命 chapters of the *Shangshu* and in the “Min lao” 民勞 (Mao 253) ode of the *Shijing*.

⁷⁷ For the complex intertextual relationships between bronze inscriptions, see Matsui 2008: 707–704 (reverse pagination); these occur in a number of inscriptions but in very few transmitted texts. For intertextual references to a common template, see Falkenhausen 2006a: 55; 2006b: 254, 257; Kern 2007; Shaughnessy 2007. The parallels between the Mao Gong-ding 毛公鼎 and the Shi Hong-gui 師匱簋 are so obvious that Nivison (1996–1997) dates the two inscriptions to the same period.

⁷⁸ Vogelsang 2002, with reference to Kryukov 2000.

Many of Vogelsang's observations apply also to the "Duo" chapters, and a number of central terms and repeated expressions in these chapters do not occur in any Western Zhou bronze inscription.⁷⁹ Given the lack of terminological and conceptual overlap (especially with regard to "Shang shi"; Hou Ji, for example, does not appear in the epigraphic record),⁸⁰ bronze inscriptions do not help in dating the "Duo" chapters.

Ideology

The "Duo" chapters, like other *Shangshu* chapters ("Tai shi zhong," "Shao gao," "Jun Shi," "Li zheng," etc.) and indeed the composition of the *Shangshu* as a whole, construct a historical analogy between the Shang and the Zhou conquests. The main purpose of this analogy is for the Zhou to create a continuous genealogy that reaches far beyond the confined historical frame and limited social status of their own Zhou clan. Two much-studied bronze inscriptions, the Shi Qiang-pan 史牆盤 and the Qiu-pan 逯盤 (or Lai-pan 逯盤),⁸¹ dating from the late tenth and the late ninth century, respectively, reflect similar endeavors of the Wei 微 and Shan 單 lineages to associate their own ancestral lines closely to the Zhou ancestral line or to even manipulate historical memory to include one of their ancestors in the Zhou line. Similar activities seem to have created a "contentious and an intensely genealogy-aware climate" that continued into the eighth century BCE.⁸²

The idea to associate one's own royal genealogy with the royal genealogies of former dynasties may reflect a comparable quest for status and power, and further, it goes hand in hand with attempts at spatial expansion. The claim to rule a great diversity of regional cultures in a unified regime of All-under-Heaven (*tianxia* 天下)—a term that apart from the mid-Western Zhou "Bin Gong xu" 邠公盨 inscription occurs on only one late Spring and Autumn bronze bell and two Warring States bronzes—appropriates diversity into a greater unified order and is envisioned in terms of an expanded universal family with Heaven as father and the king as his

⁷⁹ Including 王罰, 怨, initial 猷, 朕言, 紂, 夏, 在今, 今後, 康寧, 曷不, 曷敢, 罔顯, 弗弔, 大降, 民主, which do not occur in any inscription; others appear only once (我聞, 在昔, 天降喪, 天降大喪), and yet others are found only in Spring and Autumn (成湯, 先人, 民, 殺, 罰) and Warring States (下民, 嗣王, 嗚呼) inscriptions.

⁸⁰ Following Eno's, Matsui's, and most Chinese transcriptions I have seen rather than Shaughnessy's (1991: 188) interpretation of 司 as 后 in his translation of the Shi Qiang-pan (also in the Academia Sinica database).

⁸¹ Falkenhausen 2006b; Shaughnessy 2007; Matsui 2008.

⁸² Falkenhausen 2006b: 248.

son.⁸³ A similar expansionist and inclusivist claim was also made on history, which was now appropriated to include the major royal lineages culminating in that of the Zhou. Looking at the cumulative growth of the anthology of the *Shangshu* over many centuries as an instance of documented cultural memory, we see history expanding backward to the canons of the mythical kings Yao and Shun. As these productions of cultural memory begin to include historical precedents as literary devices, the past is no longer the mere straight line of a genealogical catalog but provides—in well-composed speeches and narratives—general abstract principles of a more complex sociopolitical order and thus becomes a “patterned past.”⁸⁴ This new concept of a past (an “embryonic philosophy of history” associated with the Duke of Zhou)⁸⁵ in the earliest layers of the *Shangshu*, including the “Duo” chapters, reflects the increasing complexities of mid–Western Zhou state and society that extend beyond the prerogatives of aristocratic clans to general administrative structures of governance according to generally binding rules that regulate human action and relationships in a new bureaucratic manner. It also reflects the transition from a segmented society primarily organized in kinship groups to a stratified society marked by new social belongings where social classes transgressed individual family bonds and became comparable to one another,⁸⁶ leading to “a uniform repertoire of rules for the management of human relationships.”⁸⁷ The concept of a Heavenly Mandate, taken away from those who did not sufficiently struggle to keep it and conferred on those who earned it by effort, reflects the meritocratic principle that evaluates merit—*gong* 功 is the term associated with the sage-kings and ancestors who serve as models to emulate—and improvement by means of training and education and promotes those who are successful in achieving it.

Yet promotion as a social and political practice begins only during the mid–Western Zhou.⁸⁸ At the same time, the ancestors in their newly elevated positions as functionaries of Di above in heaven (“flanking Di on the left and the right” 在帝左右,⁸⁹ “at the place of Di” 在帝所

⁸³ Creel (1970: 417–433) argues that this claim was made without an awareness of the enormous tasks required to manage it. It therefore constituted a “dilemma of the Western Zhou.”

⁸⁴ Schaberg (2001) established this concept in his analysis of rhetorical and literary patterns in the *Guoyu* and *Zuo zhuan*.

⁸⁵ Creel 1970: 83.

⁸⁶ Vogelsang 2013: 70–71.

⁸⁷ Falkenhausen 2006a: 402.

⁸⁸ Li Feng 2008: 214, 216; Li Feng 2013: 150.

⁸⁹ In the inscription on the late Western Zhou *Di-zhong* 狄鐘 bronze bell (侃先王，先王其嚴在帝左右; see Chen Mengjia 1956: 580; Zhang Yachu 2001: vessel 49) and the *Shijing* ode “Wen Wang” 文王 (Mao 235, with the

,⁹⁰ or “at the [Celestial] Court of Di” 在帝廷⁹¹) are more remote than ever before. The loyalty and goodwill of the vassals upon which the Shang and early Zhou rulers still depended⁹² are superseded by the goodwill of Heaven, which, however, is not reliable.⁹³ These ideological and conceptual features so typical for the core *Shangshu* (including the “Duo”) chapters are characteristic traits of the changes that occurred during the mid–Western Zhou period, from the tenth century onward. It is unlikely that the “Duo” chapters could have been written before this time.

Historical Function of the Chapters

If the “Duo” chapters were indeed produced a century (or centuries) after the events they purport to report, then the historical function of these chapters has to be explained accordingly. At some point long after the conquest, the two speeches suggested to the descendants of the Yin that there existed a kind of compact on peaceful coexistence and cooperation between the early Zhou kings and their Yin forefathers, set forth by King Cheng and accepted by the Yin. This provided an authoritative model for all later Zhou kings to follow and implied that all later descendants of the Yin remained bound to the agreement with King Cheng, forestalling future actions of the Yin people against their Zhou lords.

Furthermore, the speeches were constructed to appear as authentic documentations of the leniency, fairness, and respect with which the early Zhou kings allegedly treated the Yin. They serve as self-presentations of the Zhou vis-à-vis the Yin and other people from the “numerous regions.” They might also have served as perfect historical models of civil and diplomatic appeasement during the reigns of the later Zhou kings Gong 共 (r. 917/915–900), Yi 懿 (r. 899/897–873), Xiao 孝 (r. 872–866), and Yi 夷 (r. 865–858), providing ideological guidelines for the smaller Zhou polity and instructing local representatives of the Zhou in the greater Zhou polity on how to control nonsubmissive groups with an ideology of, and path toward,

passage 文王陟降，在帝左右 in particular quoted in *Zuo zhuan*, Xiang 30, as well as in *Mozi* 墨子, “Ming gui, xia” 明鬼下).

⁹⁰ Shu Yi-zhong 叔夷鐘：及其高祖，赫赫成唐，又嚴在帝所 (Zhang Yachu 2001: vessels 272-278 and 285).

⁹¹ Hu-gui 猷簋 (or 胡簋): 用康惠朕皇文烈祖考，其格前文人，其瀕在帝廷陟降 (Zhang Yachu 2001: vessel 4317).

⁹² Creel 1970: 52–53.

⁹³ Eno 1990a: 26–27.

reconciliation that could serve both parties.⁹⁴ While bronze inscriptions continued to depict military campaigns, the *Shangshu* discourses advocated the implementation of civil provisions. Their claims for new lenient laws and the employment of meritorious officials stood against measures of political oppression through warfare and harsh punishments that still dominated the political and social practice and began to cause more negative than positive results for the consolidation of the Zhou state. Like marital alliances, this kind of argumentative speech might have served the larger Zhou polity as a new means of appeasement and control that was more economical and efficient than military campaigns.⁹⁵ However, an echo of the militaristic mode can still be found in the closing formulas of the “Duo” chapters and “harangues,” where the Zhou king sets up a clear alternative of either cooperating with his leniency or receiving the harshest punishments (i.e., the threat of falling back on the usual measures).

Finally, the “Duo” chapters also represented an attempt by the Zhou elite at establishing their own position in “All-under-Heaven” vis-à-vis the Shang and the numerous regions. It was an attempt at an inclusivist positioning of a self (*wo* 我) against—or rather over—various others (*er* 爾) in a framework of a unified whole. The creation of an expanded Zhou genealogical line was part of this same endeavor to consolidate a relationship with the subdued powers of the past, with the Zhou now leading a new meritocracy where new roles and social belongings had to be defined.

Conclusion

Among early literary cultures, “Shang shi,” “Duo shi,” and “Duo fang” form a unique group of texts aimed at appeasing subdued people after a conquest or the suppression of a rebellion and encouraging them to cooperate. They are exceptional in early world literature in regarding the subdued people as part of a common realm with shared values, a shared language and script, and a shared history and cultural memory. They assume that under the common command of Heaven all people live as members of a cosmic family in a realm imagined as “All-under-Heaven.” Even though early bronze inscriptions and the “Shifu” chapter of the *Yi Zhoushu* indicate that the historical reality of the Zhou conquest must have been much more violent, the discursive

⁹⁴ Matsui 2008: 681. All dates after Shaughnessy 1991: 254–271.

⁹⁵ Khayutina 2014.

depiction of the appeasement process in these chapters had a considerable impact on Chinese political culture.

These chapters were part of an endeavor to provide a new stable model of how to consolidate the culturally and socially diverse Zhou state within a framework of regulations that defined general and relative positions for a new stratified society. This was envisioned through a new sociopolitical order based on ritual and legal rules that reflected a new value system of meritocratic morality. The idealized narratives about the hard work of the early Zhou kings, especially King Wen, provided the new civil models for this kind of new moral hero.

In making the effort to argue and to convince through highly sophisticated and complex means of literary composition, the literary form of the chapters reflects this struggle to achieve order. The fixed formulas of the older bronzes, which were known and understood only by those who already formed part of the ritual community, are replaced by variable combinations of textual modules that, by invoking the authority of the older texts in echoes of archaic terms and expressions, construct meaning in a very different way. The texts themselves now become tools within a competitive discourse. The success of a text is no longer grounded in its ritual performance but begins to follow the meritocratic principle of reasoning and convincing by adducing stronger and superior arguments in a battle of words. The culturally awkward situation of a king addressing the subdued officers highlights this meritocratic ideology, together with its weapon of argumentative discourse, as a new means of integration and of exerting central control under a newly defined authority. This authority appropriates not only space (by military excursions) but also time by inventing an expanded, “patterned” past that is defined by universal principles and is based on historical analogies. The representatives of this new authority are portrayed in the early *Shangshu* chapters as anxious, concerned, worried, diligent, dutiful, and arguing with their subordinates and even with the subdued former enemies whose territories and histories they have just appropriated. Talking to them is part of this new, inclusivist program of Zhou governance.

Following the breakdown of the Western Zhou in 771 BCE, the meritocratic principle of governance introduced by the Zhou increasingly led to competitive struggles between regional powers. In this later context, the *Shangshu* speeches seem to belong foremost to a cultural archive of texts that provides models of speech acts for specific political circumstances. These models promise to be efficacious because friends and foes alike regard them as expressions of

their shared moral principles. As David Schaberg demonstrates in his contribution to this volume (chapter 9), the *Shangshu* is largely absent in Warring States literature. Although we do find the *Shangshu* (or *Shangshu*-like texts) occasionally quoted, there is no evidence that the texts themselves were performed (as those of the *Shijing* were) or applied to arrive at decisions (as those of the *Yijing* and the *Chunqiu* were). We can only speculate that their continuing prominence lies in their use as templates from which new texts could be generated to meet the demands of the current time while still conveying the spirit and voice of the ancient kings. The texts, rewritten and adapted, continued to enable the ruler to speak in his own voice, albeit transformed, as if in the voice of his sage ancestors.

Appendix: Translation of the *Yi Zhoushu* 逸周書, “Shang shi jie” 商誓解⁹⁶

(1) The king spoke thus: “I tell you, elder leaders of the Shang, from the clans of ... Ji, Geng, Su, and Zhi, as well as the elder Shang officers of all ranks ... and Grand Scribe Bi and Minor Scribe Xi, as well as all the active and retired officials and honored people, ... and all the leaders who have come. Respect this! Intently listen to my words. Apply them to support and to create a bright governance.”

王若曰：“告爾⁹⁷伊舊何父□□□□幾、耿、肅、執，乃⁹⁸殷之舊官人序文，⁹⁹ □□□□，及太史比、小史昔，¹⁰⁰ 及百官、里居、獻民，¹⁰¹ □□□ 來尹師之。敬諸戒！¹⁰² 疾聽朕言，¹⁰³ 用胥生蠲尹。

(2) The king said: “Ah, you multitudes. In my speech I do not dare to turn against the Heavenly Mandate; I am going to execute Shangdi’s imposing command and perspicuous punishments.

Today indeed I will for the first time give you my instructions. Respect them! My speech will indeed be a bright command from the first word to the last.”

王曰：嗟，¹⁰⁴ 爾眾！予言非敢顧天命，予來致上帝之威命明罰。今惟新誥命爾，敬諸！朕話言自一言至于十話言，其惟明命¹⁰⁵爾。

(3) The king said: “In antiquity, Hou Ji, on account of Shangdi’s words, was able to seed all the kinds of grain and accomplished Yu’s achievements. And indeed all the people in the world have

⁹⁶ Text according to Huang Huaixin 1995: 477–494.

⁹⁷ “Duo fang” 多方 is the only *Shangshu* chapter that starts with *gao er* 告爾. “Duo shi” 多士 is the only other chapter that also uses this address after the formula *wang ruo yue* 王若曰 in its text.

⁹⁸ Sun Yirang 孫詒讓 and Liu Shipai 劉師培 read *nai* 乃 as *ji* 及 (Huang Huaixin 1995: 478–479).

⁹⁹ Zhuang Shuzu 莊述祖 and Sun Yirang read *xuwen* 序文 in the meaning of *shuwei* 庶位 (Huang Huaixin 1995: 478–479).

¹⁰⁰ Compare with the catalog of officers in “Jiu gao” 酒誥, where a *taishi* 太史 and a *neishi* 內史 are addressed; see also the following note.

¹⁰¹ For similar catalogs of addressees, see the beginnings of “Mu shi” 牧誓, “Li zheng” 立政, “Gu ming” 顧命, and “Kang wang zhi gao” 康王之誥 and different passages in the “Jiu gao.” In the latter, we find *baixing liju* 百姓里居 parallel to the *baiguan liju* 百官里居 in “Shang shi.” I follow Kong Anguo 孔安國 for “retired officers.” See a similar list also in the Ling-yi inscription (Shaughnessy 1991: 197).

¹⁰² Tang Dapei 唐大沛 reads *jing zhu jie* 敬諸戒 as *jing zhi zai* 敬之哉, which also appears at the end of the text in combination with *ting zhen yan* 聽朕言 (Huang Huaixin 1995: 480).

¹⁰³ “Tai shi shang” 泰誓上 has “all listen to my words” (咸聽朕言).

¹⁰⁴ This initial interjection can be found in a number of *Shangshu* chapters, especially in the harangues (“Gan shi” 甘誓, “Yin zheng” 胤征, “Tang gao” 湯誥, “Tai shi shang,” “Mu shi,” “Bi shi” 費誓, and “Qin shi” 秦誓).

¹⁰⁵ The expression “bright command” (明命) is often used in relation to Heaven or Shangdi. A ruler claiming this for himself implies that his command is an extension of the Heavenly bright command.

since used Hou Ji's excellent grain to offer sacrifice. The former wise Shang kings brightly sacrificed to the Lords on High 四方 also indeed used our Hou Ji's excellent grain to proclaim harmony and to assist in feasting. As a consequence, it was indeed for this reason that the former wise Shang kings, by using this [grain of the Zhou for all their sacrificial proceedings,] made our Western Regions illustrious.

王曰：在昔后稷，惟上帝之言，克播百穀，¹⁰⁶ 登禹之績¹⁰⁷。凡在天下之庶民，罔不維后稷之元¹⁰⁸穀用蒸享。在商先哲王，¹⁰⁹ 明祀上帝，□□□□亦維我后稷之元穀，用告和，用胥飲食。肆商先哲王維厥故，斯用顯我西土。¹¹⁰

(4) But now, [King] Zhòu of Shang has put the world in disorder and despair, he has not made Shangdi illustrious, he has exerted random violence against the noble clans, and he has turned against the Heavenly Mandate. Since Shangdi has not been made illustrious, it has commanded my Accomplished Deceased Father, saying: 'Exterminate Shang's great offender Zhòu.'

今在商紂，昏憂天下，弗顯上帝，昏虐百姓，奉¹¹¹天之命。上帝弗顯，¹¹² 乃命朕文考曰：殪商之多罪紂。

(5) Therefore, I, the little son Fa, do not have the temerity to be oblivious to the Heavenly Mandate. My Deceased Father completely conformed to Hou Ji's governance, and therefore, Shangdi said [to us]: 'You must attack him.' Indeed, on this very [auspicious] day *jiazi*, executing Heaven's great punishment by subduing [the Shang], and accomplishing Shangdi's reward, I removed Zhòu's Mandate. I certainly will never have the temerity to act against the Heavenly Mandate. Respect this!

¹⁰⁶ See the parallels in *Shangshu*, "Lü xing" 呂刑 (稷降播種，農殖嘉穀) and "Shun dian" (播時百穀).

¹⁰⁷ Tang Dapei reads *xu* 績 as *gong* 功 (Huang Huaixin 1995: 481).

¹⁰⁸ Pan Zhen 潘振, Zhuang Shuzu, Chen Fengheng 陳逢衡, Tang Dapei, and others read *yuan* 元 as *shan* 善 (Huang Huaixin 1995: 481).

¹⁰⁹ The expression "former wise kings" is used in three "gao" chapters of the *Shangshu* ("Kang gao," "Jiu gao," and "Shao gao").

¹¹⁰ A similar expression (顯于西土) is also used in "Tai shi xia" 泰誓下. The term "Western Regions" is used only in harangues and *gao* chapters in the *Shangshu*.

¹¹¹ Ding Zongluo 丁宗洛 and Liu Shipai propose replacing *feng* 奉 with *qi* 棄 (Ding) or *wei* 韋 (Liu) as another negative ascription and in contrast to *wu gan wei tianming* 無敢違天命 in the following paragraph (Huang Huaixin 1995: 482). This is supported by the second contrastive *bu gan wang tianming* 不敢忘天命 at the beginning of the following paragraph. In the *Shangshu*, Zhòu 紂 is never portrayed as attempting to uphold the Heavenly Mandate but always turns against it (and is thus rejected by Shangdi).

¹¹² This block of five tetrasyllabic lines, which portrays the last Shang ruler, Zhòu 紂, corresponds to another such block further down in paragraph 8, which portrays the first Shang ruler, Cheng Tang 成湯.

(6) Earlier in our Western Regions, in a speech of agreement, I proclaimed to all that the noble clans of Shang were of no fault, that it was indeed only this one man [King Zhòu]. I have already killed Zhòu and received the Heavenly Mandate. I am furthermore going to make this Mandate propitious. You officeholders,¹¹⁹ retired officials and leaders [of the states], it is now the Zhou who give you commands ... you great leaders of the states, you must not have the temerity to not report to and seek audiences with us, the Zhou. Even you, the great leaders of the states, I would not reprove if Shangdi said: 'You must attack them.' And today I indeed clearly declare to you, I have already overtaken from ... [King] Zhòu and have the affair fully presented to Shangdi. The Heavenly King has the Mandate. And you noble clans and honored people want to continue your posterity. Indeed, if you respect this Heavenly Mandate, we will not order you noble clans around without [prior] declarations. The Western Regions are suffering and exhausted; how can this [battle] be carried out again? If Heaven indeed implements another exhaustion, raises us in battle, and accuses and exhausts us [for not having accomplished its Mandate], then we will not be able again to be of one mind [with you]. So you many nobles, each one, out of respect, ought to help ensure that Heaven eternally blesses our Western Regions.

¹¹³ This phrase has a verbatim parallel in “Tai shi shang.” 予小子 is a common formula in the *Shangshu*, the *Shijing*, and bronze inscriptions.

¹¹⁴ The inscription on the Li-*gui* bronze confirms this date as auspicious for a “great event.” See Shaughnessy 1991: 89.

¹¹⁵ The phrase “executing Heaven’s punishments” (致天之罰) occurs verbatim in both “Duo” chapters and also in “Tang shi.” Other harangues have similar phrases: “Tai shi shang” (底天之罰), “Tai shi xia” (恭行天罰), and “Gan shi” and “Mu shi” (恭行天之罰).

¹¹⁶ Sun Yirang points out a *Mozi* parallel (“Fei gong xia” 非攻下): “After the king had overthrown the Yin, he accomplished Di’s reward” (王既已克殷，成帝之來). Zhuang Shuzu reads *lai* 來 as *lai* 賚 (Huang Huaixin 1995: 484).

¹¹⁷ Zhuang Shuzu, Tang Dapei, and Zhu Junsheng 朱駿聲 read *ming* 命 in place of the lacuna (Huang Huaixin 1995: 483).

¹¹⁸ This is the third time that the text uses this formula with only slight variation: 非敢顧天命 in paragraph 2 and 不敢忘天命 in paragraph 5.

¹¹⁹ I follow Tang Dapei here, who reads *baixing* 百姓 as *baiguan* 百官 (Huang Huaixin 1995: 485). See the parallel in paragraph 1.

¹²⁰ In *Zuo zhuan* (Xiang 27), *qi yan* 齊言 is used in exactly this contractual sense as speech of a covenant.

¹²¹ See the parallel in paragraph 2: 予來致上帝之威命明罰.

□□□□□□□□爾冢邦君,¹²³ 無敢其有不告見于我有周。其比冢邦君我無攸愛, 上帝曰: 必伐之。今予惟明告爾, 予其往追□紂, 達¹²⁴集之于上帝。天王其有命。爾百姓、獻民, 其有綴芳。夫自敬其有斯天命, 不令爾百姓無告。西土疾勤, 其斯有何重? 天維用重勤, 興起我, 罪勤我。無克乃一心。¹²⁵ 爾多子, 其人自敬助天永休于我西土。

(7) You noble clans, you will then also have a peaceful place there. If you accord with the Heavenly Mandate and don't restlessly raise chaos, then my [Grand] Protector Shi will support you for this. Do not usurp the Heavenly Mandate. As in my speech at the Zhou [Western Regions] I said that the Shang people were of no fault and that our Mandate is now with the Zhou. Who then acts first [in usurping the Mandate] I will thereupon treat as guilty. I will then indeed according to the Way of the former kings lead a return to order. If you noble clans transgress the ruling order, then it is not myself who bears the [guilt of causing] disorder but only you."

爾百姓, 其亦有安處在彼。宜在天命, □(弗)¹²⁶及惻¹²⁷興亂。予保奭¹²⁸其介¹²⁹有斯。勿用天命, 若朕言在周曰: 商百姓無罪, 朕命在周。其乃先作, 我肆罪疾。予惟以先王之道御復正。爾百姓越則, 非朕負亂, 惟爾。

(8) Our king said: "Noble clans, I heard that in days of old the former wise Shang king Cheng Tang was able to establish the order of Shangdi and protect the lives of the Shang people. He was able to ensure the efficacy of the Three Powers,¹³⁰ to resolve the doubts of the Shang people

¹²² "Jiu gao" has a verbatim parallel: 百姓里居。

¹²³ "Zhong jun" 冢君 is an established term for hereditary rulers and foremost leaders. "Tai shi shang" and "Mu shi" have 我友邦冢君 and 爾友邦冢君; "Wu cheng" 武成 and "Shao gao" have 庶邦塚君; "Da gao" 大誥 has 爾庶邦君 twice. The term 冢邦君, however, appears only in "Shang shi" here. I therefore translate it in the sense of 邦冢君, as several commentators also propose (Huang Huaixin 1995: 485).

¹²⁴ Lu Wenchao 盧文弨 and Tang Dapei read *zhen* as *zhen* 臻 (Huang Huaixin 1995: 486).

¹²⁵ The expression "to have one mind" occurs several times in the *Shangshu*: "Tai shi shang" (予有臣三千, 惟一心), "Tai shi zhong" 泰誓中 (乃一德一心), and "Pan Geng xia" 盤庚下 (式敷民德, 永肩一心)。

¹²⁶ Ding Zongluo reads *fu* 弗 in place of the lacuna (Huang Huaixin 1995: 488).

¹²⁷ Ding Zongluo, Zhu Junsheng, and Tang Dapei all read *ji* 及 as *fan* 反. Tang Dapei reads *ce* 惻 as *ce* 側 (Huang Huaixin 1995: 488–489).

¹²⁸ Chen Fengheng and Tang Dapei read *bao shi* 保奭 as referring to the Duke of Shao, who is called [Grand] Protector Shi (Bao Shi 保奭) twice in the *Shangshu* ("Jun Shi" 君奭 and "Gu ming") (Huang Huaixin 1995: 489). Duke Shao figures more prominently in Western Zhou texts than the Duke of Zhou (Shaughnessy 1997: 108–109, 140). He was in charge of the Western Regions after King Cheng ascended the throne (*Shiji* 34.1549–1550); this might have been projected retrospectively to the time of King Wu.

¹²⁹ "Duo fang" parallel: "We Zhou will indeed greatly support and reward you" (我有周惟其大介賚爾)。

¹³⁰ Tang Dapei lists the three powers as they are defined in the "Hong fan" 洪範 chapter of the *Shangshu*: "correctness and straightforwardness" (*zheng zhi* 正直), "strong government" (*gang ke* 剛克), and "mild

and thereby make them assist their ruler.

在我王曰：百姓，我聞古商先哲王成湯，克辟上帝，保生商民，克用三德，疑¹³¹商¹³²民弗懷，用辟厥辟。¹³³

(9) Now Zhòu has discarded the established norms of Cheng Tang. Thereupon, Shangdi has commanded my small state and said: ‘Make an end to the state of Shang.’ Thereupon, I gave your noble clans bright commands. If they are not willing to apply my commands, then I will kill and extinguish all of you, great leaders of the states, and all the noble clans of the Shang.”

今紂棄成湯之典，肆上帝命我小國¹³⁴曰：革商國。肆予明命汝百姓，其斯弗用朕命，其斯爾冢邦君商庶百姓，予則¹³⁵劉滅之。

(10) The king said: “Ho! My Heavenly Mandate is already achieved indeed! You can all receive Heaven’s blessing at our Zhou, and with this small state the Mandate will not change.

王曰：霍！予天命維既！咸汝克承天休¹³⁶于我有周，斯小國于有命不易。¹³⁷

(11) Earlier, at our [crossing at] Mengjin, if Di had blessed and distinguished the Shang, what state would we have? But he commanded me, the little son. Thereupon, I led an army against the Yin and distinguished the various ranks ... promoted my assistants, and thereupon, I cut off the Mandate of Yin.

昔我盟津，¹³⁸帝休辨商，其有何國？命予小子，肆我殷戎，亦辨百度，□□美左右，予肆

government” (*rou ke* 柔克) (Huang Huaixin 1995: 490).

¹³¹ Zhu Youzeng 朱右曾 interprets *yi* 疑 as *ding* 定 (Huang Huaixin 1995: 490).

¹³² Ding Zongluo points out that the text should have Xia people 夏民 here instead of Shang people 商民 (Huang Huaixin 1995: 490).

¹³³ This block of five tetrasyllabic lines corresponds to a similar block in paragraph 4 above, portraying the last Shang ruler, Zhòu 紂.

¹³⁴ In the *Shangshu*, the formula “my small state” (我小國) is used only once, in “Duo shi.”

¹³⁵ None of the many different commentarial suggestions on how to fill this lacuna (*nai* 乃, *xian* 咸, *qian* 虔, *si* 肆; see Huang Huaixin 1995: 491) changes the meaning of the sentence.

¹³⁶ The phrase “to receive Heaven’s blessings” (承天休) is also used in “Tang gao.”

¹³⁷ The phrase 命不易 is a fixed Zhou idiom that can be found several times in the *Shangshu* and the *Shijing*. *Yi* 易 is translated either as “change” (the Mandate will not change) if it is used in confirming statements or as “easy” (the Mandate is not easily preserved) in admonishing addresses. I read paragraph 10 as a confirming statement claiming the security of the Mandate with the Zhou.

¹³⁸ Tang Dapei reads Mengjin 盟津 as Mengjin 孟津, the place where the Zhou army crossed the Yellow River during their conquest of the Shang, six days before the decisive battle at Muye (Huang Huaixin 1995: 491). Phonologically this is sensible with Old Chinese pronunciations of 盟 (*mraŋ) and 孟 (*mʰraŋ-s). In the *Guwen Shangshu*, King Wu delivered a harangue on the occasion of the crossing at Mengjin. This is part of the tripartite

劉殷之命。

(12) Now I do indeed generously protect you, although my scribes and grand scribes are against me in this. Seeing how we have to pacify you, the scribes have great doubts about your cooperativeness, respectfulness, and deference. If anyone dares to trifle with or overstep [the authority of] this one speech, then I am going to implement Shangdi's bright Mandate. I will treat you respectfully ... noble clans and will govern you with all [our] righteousness and all [our] punishments. Even though I will return to the Western Regions, I will unexpectedly come and punish immediately. So be respectful! All of you who have heard my words, do not expect another declaration."

今予維篤祐爾，予史、太史違我。史視爾靖，疑胥敬請。其斯一話，敢逸僭，予則上帝之明命。予爾拜拜¹³⁹ □百姓，越爾庶義、庶刑。¹⁴⁰ 子¹⁴¹維¹⁴²及西土，我乃其來即刑。乃敬之哉！庶聽朕言，罔胥告。¹⁴³

"Great Harangue" ("Tai shi"). Legge (1991: 297–299) has appended this to his translation.

¹³⁹ Commentators do not know how to interpret this *baibai*. They regard it as a mistake and offer different emendations (Huang Huaixin 1995: 492–493). I also believe that the text is corrupt here, but none of the commentarial explanations appear convincing to me.

¹⁴⁰ "Li zheng" uses the similar phrase "all litigations and precautionary measures" (庶獄庶慎) three times.

¹⁴¹ Most editions have *yu* 予 in place of *zi* 子 (Huang Huaixin 1995: 494).

¹⁴² Tang Dapei interprets *wei* 維 as *sui* 雖 (Huang Huaixin 1995: 494).

¹⁴³ "Duo fang" ends on a similar note: "I will indeed not make many declarations" (我不惟多誥!).

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